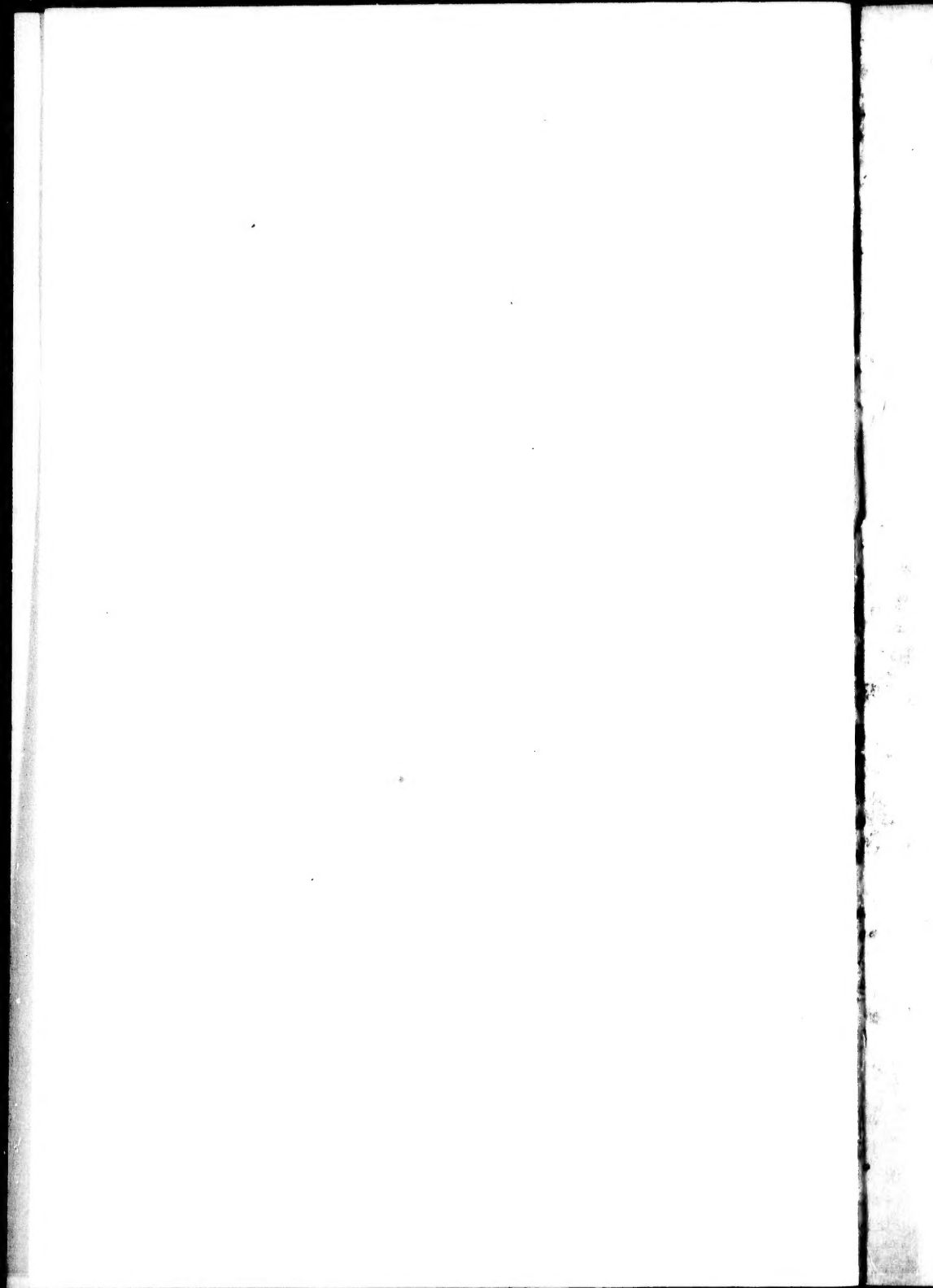




SPEECHES

OF

DR. JOHN ROLPH,

AND

CHRISTOPHER A. HAGERMAN, ESQ.

His Majesty's Solicitor General,

ON THE

BILL FOR APPROPRIATING THE PROCEEDS

OF THE

CLERGY RESERVES

TO THE PURPOSES OF

GENERAL EDUCATION.

1ST SESSION, 13TH PARLIAMENT.

TORONTO:

PRINTED BY M. REYNOLDS, COR. & ADV. OFFICE.

1837.

DEDICATION.

TO THE HONORABLE

MARSHALL SPRING BIDWELL, Esquire,

LATE SPEAKER OF THE COMMONS' HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

&c. &c. &c.

SIR:

No accession the Assembly ever can receive, will diminish the brilliancy which distinguished it while you were one of its brightest ornaments. Statesman-like in your views, highly honorable and consistent in your public conduct as the friend of constitutional liberty, dignified in your address, and singularly powerful and eloquent at the Bar and in the Parliament, you have attained the rare and enviable elevation of having thrown a greater lustro over this unhappy Province than it now can throw over you.

In offering this inadequate tribute to your public services for twelve Sessions in successive Parliaments, in two of which you occupied the Speaker's chair to the credit of yourself, the advantage of the House, and the honor of the country,—I would not omit the still higher station you occupy as a private individual, displaying throughout an eventful life in your religious character, the piety and philanthropy of an exalted christian.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

THE PUBLISHER.

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CLERGY RESERVES.

DR. JOHN ROLPH.—Mr. Chairman,—I consider the question under debate, one of great interest and importance, and which I do not approach without diffidence and concern. I feel obliged to my honorable friend from Grenville (Mr. Norton) for the calm, temperate and reasoning manner in which he has introduced the subject to the consideration of the committee—an example which, I trust, will continue to meet throughout the discussion with the practical approbation of all engaging in the debate. It is on this account I feel regret at a few remarks which fell from an hon. member opposite (Mr. Marks); for when the hon. and learned member for Toronto, in his eloquent and perspicuous address, alluded to the great neighboring republic, the illustration was received from his learned lips as music to the ear and instruction to the understanding; but no sooner did my hon. friend from Grenville, in unavoidable reply, make a similar reference, than he was met by the hon. member opposite with observations, as misplaced as they were undesired.

I consider there are three distinct views or propositions on this subject before the committee: 1st, to confine the Clergy Reserves to the English Church to the exclusion of all others. 2ndly, to divide them among a select number of churches. 3rdly, to apply them to General Education. I shall separately consider these propositions; and I am happy the claims of the English Church, first under your notice, are vindicated by so able and eloquent an advocate as the learned Solicitor General. Contemplate the learned gentleman (to whom I cheerfully give every meed of praise) in his elevated place as its champion; see him surrounded with all the Clergy Reserves and their rents and profits; confess the worth of the Bishops, Archdeacons, Priests and Deacons in their extended diocese; multiply, if you please, the 57 Rectories, with their endowments and exclusive ecclesiastical and spiritual rights and privileges; view about the learned gentleman, in concentrated perspective, all the wealth and glory of our provincial hierarchy, lately gilded, too, with £70,000, a fractional product of a fraction of their vast estates, besides the most wealthy congregations yielding revenues unknown. Amidst all this ecclesiastical splendor and aggrandizement, the learned gentleman is approached with an humble request. He is prayed to recover his sight from the glare about him, and condescendingly cast a glance into the surrounding distance. There he is shown numerous other churches formed of christian groups about pious pastors, with no wealth but the Bible, and no distinction save the Cross. Behold these fellow labor-

ers in the same vineyard! Will you be pleased, Sir, out of your abundance, to share a portion of it among them? Will you?—What is the answer? Not a jot!—Our best feelings seem intuitively to enlist themselves against this answer. It seems equally to shock natural reason and christian charity. From a happy constitution of our nature, some truths and errors, like the extremes of light and darkness to the eye, force a moral perception, which neither needs nor allows argumentative deliberation. To prove that two and two make four, would puzzle, perhaps, a skillful logician; and I envy not the casuist or the divine, who, neither from the motions of the heart, nor the principles of reason, can perceive or understand the palpable selfishness and injustice of admitting one church to monopolize wealth and power, to the exclusion of every other. Conscience, the monitor which sometimes whispers and sometimes roars, seems in this case, as in a thousand others, to anticipate mere fallible reason, by instantly revealing the sanctions of unerring truth. Put the case as stated (or if over-stated bring down the contrast to the least possible existing disproportion) to a child or an adult, to an Indian or a Philosopher, and the first exclamation will be,—“it is unequal indeed! Splendid hierarchy, share your aggrandizement with your sister-churches!” This is the voice of reason, the language of the heart and the philosophy of the Bible.

The very conclusion that the other dissenting churches ought not to enjoy the wealth, patronage and union of the state, affords an obvious corollary against the exclusive claims of the church in question. Whatever reason may be assigned against the Kirk, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Methodists, or any other known denomination, may with equal force be applied to the English Church in this country. It is not for me, Sir, to combat imaginary grounds of exception against bodies of christians who I cannot conceive to be otherwise than entitled to equal religious rights. State the reason of the exclusion and I will show the applicability of it to the excluders. You may, after analytical fashion, call these unknown causes of disability, *x x y ad libitum*; and whenever their real value is ascertained, you will find that they may, without disturbing the balance of truth, be assigned to either side of the equation. Are the other churches, in any respect, less deserving?—Are they less useful members of the general community?—Are they less industrious in their respective avocations?—Do they less display the domestic and social virtues?—Are they less loyal to the King or patriotic to their country?—Are they, in any

respect whatever, inferior subjects either in peace or war? I will not pause for an answer, lest it should seem to imply on my part even a distant belief that any honorable member would indulge the affirmative.— But, surely, when there is such a christian correspondence between their political relations and deserts, there ought to be extended to them the same favor and protection. They draw their creed, too, from a common source; they worship the same Supreme, and they anchor in the same faith. They hasten to the common tomb, and being expectants of the same resurrection, they mingle as fellow-candidates for the same immortality.

It is wrong, then, to make artificial distinctions, when there is no real christian difference. All indeed, may not think alike, and the systematic theologian may draw lines of demarcation. But they are branches of the same vine; and although those branches may present autumnal varieties of color, shape and size, yet they are nourished by a common root, & all springing from the parent trunk, are seen in friendly company growing with it towards the sky. Light loses not its physical laws or beauty by spreading out its rich variety in the splendid rainbow. So the rays of truth passing thro' different minds of different refracting powers, exhibit shades of difference which run imperceptibly into one another, and again unite to yield synthetically the primitive truth.

The claim by any one Church to a continuation of the existing monopoly, affords proof of that Church being already corrupted by it. "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven." A Church is a body of Christians, and must therefore exhibit the collective character of the several parts. Rich pastors and congregations need special circumspection, and will experience all the christian *vis inertiae* which belongs to the individual Dives. Hence it may be feared a Church of even primitive excellence, may be so lulled with worldly ease, so dilated with Reserves, and so encumbered with aggrandizements, as to be obliged to leave the narrow way for that broader one which leads to ecclesiastical destruction.

But here, let us take the benefit of their vision. They see clearly and most justly the inexpediency of allowing the other Churches to enjoy the favor, wealth and matrimony of the State. I look at their exclusive pretensions through the same medium, and as clearly discover them to be alike dangerous and unchristian. "As they judge let them be judged;" and as they would "mete out to others, let it be measured to them again." In surveying from their mountainous station the village Churches in the valley beneath, they inspect them, as it were with telescopic aid, & rightly judge it unwise to transplant them from that spiritual kingdom which "is not of this world."

But unfortunately when reverting to their own condition they look through the further end of the telescope and are led into the strangest optical delusion. Let them fairly turn round the magnifier of truth upon their own pretensions, & the charm will be dispelled, the illusion will be done away, and the Church will return to her ethereal clime, and aspire rather to light the world than to be lighted by it.

Toleration is often thought a very gracious thing: & both political and ecclesiastical moderation is boastingly conceded to dissenters under the license "to think as they please." No thanks are due for it. We can think in spite of bulls and acts of parliament to the contrary. Mind is an empire of its own; and it is a glorious thing we are so constituted by nature that we must think and do think beyond the reach of tyrants. Were it possible, perhaps an over careful majority of this very Assembly would legislate away our thinking on the very subject under debate. 'There is, therefore, no merit in leaving, from necessity, our fellow christians in undisputed possession of those intellectual operations which are given by God before whose tribunal, alone their purity can be tried. But this boasted moderation is exercised in a way as objectionable in principle and mischievous in practice as the fire and faggot. Learned gentlemen would be shocked at the proposition to burn at the stake or pierce with the bayonet in order to make christians conform to the Established Church. This tenderness, however, for the body, ill accords with a daily barbarity towards the mind. There is no virtue in merely substituting moral for physical force. The method may have more refinement, yet not be less ignoble. The Indian who scalps the head is really not more savage than he who breaks the heart. An affectation of tenderness and liberality by making physical violence give place to a series of brutal and painful influences upon the mind, is an imitation of the conduct of Julian, the apostate, wholly unworthy the age and country in which we live. It is only a different set of base means to gain the same base end. Let us compare the ancient with modern Julians. The learned and impartial Dr. Mosheim in his ecclesiastical history, makes the following observations respecting the ancient Julian:—

"It is true this prince seemed averse to the use of violence in propagating superstition, & suppressing the truth; nay, he carried the appearances of moderation and impartiality so far, as to allow his subjects a full power of judging for themselves in religious matters, and of worshipping the Deity in the manner they thought the most rational. But, under this mask of moderation, he attacked Christianity with the utmost bitterness, and, at the same time, with the most consummate dexterity. By art and stratagem he undermined the church, removing the privileges that were granted to Christians, and their spiritual rulers; shutting up the schools in which they taught philosophy and the liberal arts; encouraging the

sectaries upon the books of other ruin and Mode equally which a nature, cluded provincial plate its good th This te racters a not for tions wh not a c known of hearts elations the profes confessio good men the invit upon by promising most ne Gospel a All the w Church narrow e which is gtrance, ages! and supp alluremen factual th former w while the resist the stamp st Learned the body, mind; no rack, but mity by w under exc rited disa under a It is tru an option rable in its ter. It is between t ral & seen within the when they shut! W it! Wha formity! answer? Thus tem vation on the and t

sectaries and schismatics, who brought dishonor upon the gospel by their divisions; composing books against the Christians, and using a variety of other means to bring the religion of Jesus to ruin and contempt."

Modern philosophers of the same school are equally decided in renouncing force, and are equally dexterous in the use of those means which act upon the frailties of our common nature. For example; the churches now excluded from the wealth and privileges of our provincial hierarchy are invited to contemplate its tempting aspect, and partake of its good things upon a dutiful conformity.—This temptation acts upon men of all characters and degrees of moral strength; it acts not for a day but for years and generations while the system lasts. It insures not a conformity of the heart [a secret known only to the heart and the searcher of hearts] but a conformity to external regulations and subscription to 39 articles. But the profession of the tongue is not always the confession of the mind; and if, therefore, all good men are not in this Eden tempted to taste the inviting fruit, it will certainly be feasted upon by the less scrupulous and more compromising men of the world, the very men who most need to be taught the purity of the Gospel and the self-denial of the cross.—All the wealth and privileges of the favoured Church are carefully barricaded, leaving a narrow entrance, guarded with a sign upon which is a superscription of the condition of entrance, viz: "Clergy Reserves and appendages! Terms:—Subscription to 39 Articles and support of the Establishment!" This allurements to the mind is really more effectual than the rack to the body—for the former wears the mark of independent choice, while the latter rouses all of human nature to resist that coercion which would necessarily stamp success with a cowardly acquiescence. Learned men are now a days not for punching the body, but so to speak, for punching the mind; not for putting our corporations on the rack, but for torturing the mind into conformity by wounding it through the sting of pride under exclusion, of mortification under unmerited disabilities, and of pungent humiliation under a blazoned inferiority.

It is true the excluded churches are allowed an option; but it is not an option which is honorable in its moral or pure in its spiritual character. It is not a simple option, as it ought to be, between *truth* and *error*. The invitation is general & seems generous "Come, sister churches, within the precincts of our prosperity!" But when they arrive at the confines, the gate is shut! What is the watch-word for opening it? What is the price of admission? Conformity! Well; this is refused.—What is the answer? Then stay without and STARVE. Thus temptation on the one hand and privation on the other, are substituted for fire and faggot, inquisition and sword.—

Other christians must either obtain these worldly bounties by joining a communion from which they dissent or lose what no others are better entitled to than themselves for conscience sake. This is inconsistent with the whole tenor of scripture, which teaches us to let truth "have free course and be glorified." It once fell to my lot when engaged in the practise of the law, to draw a will by which the father provided that his son should inherit his property, if at the age of 21 he should be a member in communion with the Roman Church, and if not, the estate was to be applied to other purposes and uses. There is scarcely a father or a son who does not feel an instinctive repugnance to this arrangement. It unnecessarily places a young man in a fearful conflict between the loss of his property and the loss of his faith. And from the frailty of human nature [which from its very frailty should fly temptation] it would not be strange should a youth so situated keep the property "and go away sorrowful." The principle is the very same in the case before us upon a national scale. The King as the father of his people is made to say, "my loyal and beloved subjects; I have a vast and rich domain which I have of my mere grace and favor exclusively bestowed upon my Protestant Episcopal Church; such other churches as will come within its pale, shall partake thereof, but such of my loyal and christian subjects as adhere to their schismatic faith, I leave to hunger and thirst under the system of voluntary contribution."—If the voluntary system is sufficient for the excluded churches, it is sufficient for all; if insufficient, why should they be denied the bounty which it is said they need? I come, therefore, to the conclusion that if such Executive favors are to be given to any christian churches in our community, they should be given to all; but as such a lucrative alliance with the State is inexpedient, anti-christian and unsafe, it should neither be countenanced in any, nor arbitrarily confined to one.—Let me inquire into those effects on a religion which have ever followed this community of interest between it and the State.—Paganism has been thro' many ages and in many countries supported by the State.—But during all those ages was any heathen mythology ever purified into christian excellence? It has not only tested the experience of every age, but of every form of government; and yet while history has not transmitted a solitary instance of reciprocal good, it has fearfully recorded the growing corruptions of both. If governments corrected none of the errors of heathenism, upon what ground can we expect them to add to the value, the purity or the perfection of christian truth? Paganism wedded to the State, and sharing its learned ease, wealth and splendor, began, probably, with a Jupiter; and under this boasted alliance, Gods grew in number, till, fancy exhausted by impiety of further images, roared "an altar to an un-

known God;" which moved the intrepid Paul emphatically to exclaim "Ye men of Athens him whom ye know not declare I unto you."

Governments not only corrupted Paganism itself, but combined with it to shut out the light of truth. The people were taught to regard an attack on religion as an attack on the State connected with it.—They were to stand or fall together—Hence when Socrates glimpsed by the light of nature, the existence of only one God and the immortality of the soul, he was charged with impiety against a State religion, with a sort of treason against Greece and Grecian Gods. Did the Government welcome this spark of Socratic truth and husband it into a flame to lighten the Gentiles and dispel the gloom of heathen superstition in the world?—No—They poisoned him. Now if the religion had not been the religion of the State, and the people had been allowed, as matter of right and practice, to think on those subjects and search out the truth wherever it could be found, it never could have been alleged as a crime against Socrates, or have furnished his enemies with such means for his destruction. This mixture of politics and religion made them respectively more formidable and unrelenting; for each upon the usual law of reciprocity endeavoured to sustain the other in the exercise of power and the disposal of their victims. When an artless child with the simplicity of one in 1836 made choice of the ornament of a Goddess instead of a toy, did a protecting Government prevent its being butchered for alleged impiety at the foot of the statue?

This political relation of paganism armed it with greater and fiercer power against the earlier christians; and to my mind an everlasting warning against it is written in the blood (a deluge of it too) of those martyrs, whose peaceful labours would easily have subverted idolatry, had it not been supported against them by the state.

Let it not, Sir, be forgotten, that from the beginning of the world to the coming of the Messiah, natural religion was open to mankind—It's great truths were expressed (if I may use the phrase) in the most intelligible hieroglyphics in the earth and in the heavens. They saw the rising and setting of the Sun in all that majesty which has commanded the admiration of every age; they beheld an inconceivable profusion of worlds scattered through the various constellations or collected in the milky-way. Descending to a lower sphere, they saw those winged vapours which sometimes shroul the atmosphere with a tempest, and at other times exhibit a natural kaleidoscope of what is splended in optics and magnificent in scenery; while from the same source they welcomed almost as often as their wants recurred, those genial showers which cooled a sultry air and refreshed both the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Turning their eyes to things more immediately about them

upon the surface of the earth, they saw masses of matter presenting upon a scale of less magnificence, much that is striking and wonderful. They saw the living garniture of fields, and the progressive development of vegetation, from the sowing of the seed to the maturity of the plant; and the structure and laws of life in the higher order of animals, were even more demonstrative of creative wisdom and beneficence. Even inanimate things are stampd with peculiar laws, admirably suited to the wants and happiness of man; and the very chrystal, tenacious of its character, assumes its appointed form tho' passed thro' the chrystalizing process a thousand times over. Was not this a divine revelation for them to read and study? It has been said "if there was a God or a message from him, it would be written in the sky:" and so it is and ever has been.

But how is it this book of nature was so long open to the Pagan world without avail? Why was this volume forsaken for an idea mythology? Why was natural religion, with its abundant testimonies, superseded by artificial idolatry? In an eminent degree because Paganism was upheld against it by the power, wealth and splendor of the State with which it was associated. Perhaps Paganism was natural religion, which in a long course of time received under human government a debasing alloy, till it retained scarcely a vestige of its purer origin. It was fearful odds for mankind, in the pursuit of truth, to find arrayed against them error, based upon the law, enriched and favored by the executive, and swrapt up in imperial splendor & superstition, sanctity, as to arrest every attempt to correct or purify it, as treason against the State, sacrilege against the temples & felony against the Gods. Hence paganism proved hostile to the early christians; & under Nero, about 30 years after the death of Christ, they were put to death, according to Tacitus, with exquisite cruelty; and to their sufferings the Emperors added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the cross; numbers were burnt alive; & many covered with inflammable matter were lighted up when the day declined to serve as torches during the night. Thus it appears that idolatry intrenched in the State has been uniformly corrupted by it, and has ever fiercely opposed the progress of natural religion revealed truth. And I now ask, has not christianity from its confederacy with the kingdome of this world, suffered similar contamination and when I collect from the most accredited writers upon ecclesiastical history, that the christian church upon the very first embraces of the State and the tender Constantine was deteriorated. This is a mere point of speculation or reasoning; it is a matter of fact to be determined by his rial testimony; and the weight of the author's

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ities produced must not be undervalued, because in this transient discussion they are unavoidably limited to a few. But those few shall be clear and decided. The following passage is read from Moshem Vol. 1 Page 25.

"The additions made by the Emperors and others to the wealth, honors, and advantages of the clergy, were followed with a proportionable augmentation of vices and luxury, particularly among those of that sacred order, who lived in great and opulent cities; and that many such additions were made to that order after the time of Constantine, is a matter that admits of no dispute. The bishops, on the one hand, contended with each other, in the most scandalous manner, concerning the extent of their respective jurisdictions, while, on the other, they trampled upon the rights of the people, violated the privileges of the inferior ministers, and imitated, in their conduct and in their manner of living, the arrogance, voluptuousness, and luxury of magistrates and princes. This pernicious example was soon followed by the several ecclesiastical orders. The presbyters, in many places, assumed an equality with the bishops, in point of rank and authority. We find also many complaints made, at this time of the vanity and effeminacy of the deacons.—Those more particularly of the presbyters and deacons, who filled the first stations of these orders, carried their pretensions to an extravagant length, and were offended at the notion of being placed upon an equal footing with their colleagues. For this reason, they not only assumed the titles *Archpresbyters* and *Archdeacons*, but also claimed a degree of authority and power much superior to that which was vested in the other members of their respective orders."

In the same volume of that learned historian referring to the same century we find the following observations:

"When we cast an eye towards the lives and morals of Christians at this time, we find, as formerly, a mixture of good and evil; some eminent for their piety, others infamous for their crimes. The number, however, of immoral and unworthy Christians began so to increase, that the examples of real piety and virtue became extremely rare. When the terrors of persecution were totally dispelled; when the church secured from the efforts of its enemies, enjoyed the sweets of prosperity and peace; when the most of the bishops exhibited to their flock the contagious examples of arrogance, luxury, effeminacy, animosity, and strife, with other vices too numerous to mention; when the inferior rulers and doctors of the church fell into a slothful and opprobrious negligence of the duties of their respective stations, and employed, in vain wranglings, and idle disputes, that zeal and attention that were due to the culture of piety and to the instruction of the people; and when (to complete the enormity of this horrid detail) multitudes were drawn from the profession of Christianity, not by the power of conviction and argument, but by the prospect of gain and the fear of punishment; then it was, indeed, no wonder that the church was contaminated with shoals of profligate Christians, and that the virtuous few were, in a manner, oppressed and overwhelmed with the superior numbers of the wicked and licentious. It is true that the same rigorous

penance, which had taken place before Constantine the Great, continued now in full force against flagrant transgressors; but when the reign of corruption becomes universal, the vigor of the law yields to its sway, and a weak execution defeats the purposes of the most salutary discipline.—Such was now unhappily the case; the age was sinking daily from one corruption to another; the great and the powerful sinned with impunity, and the obscure and the indigent felt alone the severity of the laws."

This accords with the opinion of that eminent divine Bishop Newton, who in his work upon the prophecies, 2nd volume, page 262 affords the following quotation:

"Though the establishment of christianity by Constantine, added much to the temporal prosperity, yet it contributed little to the spiritual graces and virtues of christians. It enlarged their revenues, and increased their endowments; but it proved the fatal means of corrupting the doctrines and relaxing the discipline of the church. It was attended with this peculiar disadvantage, that many clave to them with flatteries; many became christians for the sake of the loaves and fishes, and pretended to be of the religion only because it was the religion of the Empire. Eusebius, who was a cotemporary writer, remarks that one of the reigning views of the times was the dissimulation and hypocrisy of men fraudulently entering into the church, and borrowing the name of christians without the reality."

The learned Moshem relates with expressions of regret, the degeneration of the primitive church, as he terms it, "towards the form of a religious monarchy."—"The Bishops aspired to higher degrees of power and authority than they formerly professed; and not only violated the rights of the people, but also made gradual encroachments upon the privileges of the Presbyters. They assumed in many places a princely authority; appropriated to their evangelical function, the splendid ensigns of temporal majesty; a throne surrounded with ministers, exalted them above their fellows; and sumptuous garments dazzled the eyes and the minds of the multitude into an ignorant veneration for their arrogated authority. The Presbyters ambitiously imitated the example of the bishops; and there followed to religion a train of melancholy and dishonorable consequences, over which Moshem regrets that "Truth could not allow him to spread a veil."

What was true of christianity and of christians in those ages, was realized by the established church in later times. For this truth we have also the authority of a Bishop.

Bishop Barnett says "I have lamented, during my whole life, that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy. I saw much among the clergy of the Church of Rome, though it is both ill directed and ill conducted. I saw much zeal likewise throughout the foreign churches. The dissenters have a great deal of zeal among them; but the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me; and instead of animating one another, they lay one another to sleep. Unless a better spirit possesses the clergy,

arguments, and what is more, laws and authority will not preserve the church."—*Owen Times*, Vol. 4, p. 440.

Such have been the recorded and attested effects of the world on the christian church!

It follows, Sir, that when a church has received this modification from the State, it must have an injurious bearing upon individuals and society at large. Take one or two examples. Bunyan freely enjoyed his half-indeliberate and looseness of living, until his subsequent conversion and professed piety. He no sooner, however, became an open christian according to the suggestions of his faith and the dictates of his conscience, than his non-conformity to the State-nourished church was bro't against him as a crime. He had indeed, freedom and liberty; but it was freedom and liberty of choice between ecclesiastical conformity or immurement in a dungeon. To punish a man for not admitting a color to be *white* which he perceives and cannot help perceiving to be *black*, is not more absurd or tyrannical than to punish him for not professing to believe that to be true which he verily believes and cannot help believing to be error.—Yet in Bunyan's case, [to illustrate thousands of others] the church and State combined to imprison him for 12 years! During this protracted confinement, as the body languished, the spirit became more ethereal and divine—and he composed for the lasting benefit of the world, his *Pilgrims Progress*, a work so pure in its diction and so classical as an Allegorical production, as to command, even to this day, the interest of the christian reader and the praise of the fastidious critic. Come down to later years and read a warning from the case of the late Rev. Dr. Carey & his co-adjutors, who full of Missionary zeal—(the noblest kindred in the human mind) proceeded to British India to convert the heathen—On their arrival the united church and State met them with an interdiction. Banished by them as British subjects aspiring to do their duty as British christians to British heathens in this British empire, they took refuge with Apostolic intrepidity and zeal in a neighboring Danish colony; and there they established a Press, and thence, as it were under foreign protection and toleration, they successfully and gloriously bombarded British India with Divine truth.

Next look into the effects of this system on whole communities. There are these in this assembly in whose veins flows Irish blood; but afflicted Ireland needs not national feeling to insure sympathy under her wrongs. How every sentiment, patriotic and religious, would rise in arms within us, were it now enacted that every Protestant in Canada should be taxed to support the Roman Catholic church! Yet in Ireland, after years of unavailing remonstrance and complaint, the Roman Catholics, with religious scruples, as strong and sincere as our own, are obliged, besides the support of their own ministry, to pay tithes to the

very established Protestant Episcopal Church from which they dissent. Just as if heathens should say to us, think as you please, but pay us the price of the sacrifice; think as you please, but bring to our altars the victims we offer up. To how melancholy a degree must a church be corrupted by the State to put forward these exclusive pretensions, and combine with the civil power for the exaction of an unjust and unchristian tax.

"Hark! I heard you, not that piercing cry,
Which shook the waves and rent the sky."

Read the tragedy of such a system in the tale of the widow embalm'd in her tears.—You know, Sir, the massacre to which I refer. It was in the collection of a Catholic Tax for protestant uses, that a minister of the Church of State commanded the musket to be fired which laid the son weltering at the mother's feet! Must not such a church have been corrupted by the world, and forgotten the example of him who restored but never destroyed life; who comforted the poor widow of Nain, & touching the passing bier, said, young man arise! and "delivered him to his mother."

What is our own condition? Suppose there were here a pagan ascendancy patronized by the state—suppose them to say to christians, as impious against their idol gods; "You are unworthy to occupy sepulchral ground where safely to bury your dead with an obolus to pay old Charon to ferry you across the river styx; and let chance or avarice with impunity disturb the ashes of your dissenting dead. Do you wish to marry? Let your issue be bastard from generation to generation unless you present yourselves before the statue of Venus and their receiving the benediction of her priest legalize your union." How similar are the above sentiments to what were expressed towards Canadian dissenters by the ascendant church only a few years ago.—The dissenting churches in this country were unable to hold land on which to build places of public worship or to bury their dead.—It was one of the exclusive privileges of the English Church, and so powerful was their political influence & ascendancy, that when in parliament twelve years ago, I laboured with mortifying failure as others had done before me, not to procure for the excluded churches a grant of land, but only a right to purchase and hold enough for those purposes required by decent consideration towards the dead and common humanity towards the feelings of surviving friends. With equally humiliating want of success, it was for years attempted by the hon. and learned Speaker Bidwell to secure to dissenters the right of being married by their own ministers so as not to compel them either to live in legal adultery or offer themselves under a violation of feeling, or of conscience, or of both, at the exclusive altar of the provincial hierarchy. Redress in these cases has, it is true, been at last obtained. But let it not be for-

copal Church as if heathens please, but pay think as you the victims we a degree must late to put for- sons, and com- the exaction ax.

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getton, it was obtained after a period of pro-tracted and fruitless legislation, enough to warn us against the danger of giving one church an ascendancy over another, or the enjoyment of rights and privileges not held in common with their fellow christian bodies in the same community. Our State-church still maintains its exclusiveness in the charter of King's College. The price of learning there, is subscription to the 39 articles—[the hon. member for Lenoax and Addington (Mr. Cart-right) here interrupted, stating that it was an error, as such subscription was only required from the Professors and members of the College Council]—Very well, Sir, I will take the proposition as stated by the hon. member, and thank him for the correction. A most learned man presents himself for a Professorship, eminently qualified to teach, and fortified with every testimonial of merit and capacity; his credentials are recognized, and the same breath by which his rare services are almost promised a welcome in these theatres of science,—announces a condition,—*subscription to the 39 articles*—Perhaps he says, "I am no theologian; I look to the Bible not the book of liturgy for my creed; besides I am a young man and a young christian, unwilling to subscribe to 39 articles of faith comprehending many religious and metaphysical subtleties; and my premature subscription *now* might interfere with the freedom of my conscientious dissent from any of them in future life—pray therefore accept my services in the science I profess." The church promptly replies.—"away with the schismatic!" If the highly gifted Dr. Chambers, the literary and theological boast of Scotland, yes, of Britain, were to present himself for Academic honors in Upper Canada, he would be treated and repelled at the great seat of Canadian learning as a heretic. And could you wave a magic wand over the illustrious tomb of Robert Hall, and tender his unrivalled eloquence, piety and learning to serve, in our University, the interests of religion, or teach the philosophy of morals, he would meet with the same disdainful rejection. The exclusive church has acquired this exclusive charter, and still retains it notwithstanding years of remonstrance.—The English Universities are in like manner the property of the church of England; and the exclusive rights they have held for centuries, they still hold in faithful monopoly.—Hence we learn the danger of granting any other than equal civil and religious rights to the whole community; since we find that an invidious ascendancy once granted, can be long and tenaciously held to the prejudice of the most learned and pious christians.—The history of the sacramental test in England inculcates the same instruction against religious monopolies.—Until lately no dissenter could fill any public or corporate office without first taking the sacrament at the altar of the established church. Various offices of

honor and profit were held up to the competition of christians; but to qualify themselves for their worldly situations they were to eat of the body and blood of their redeemer, no matter what their inward faith or defective preparation. Such offices were virtually held by the hierarchy, as bribes, to induce men to become, not believing christians, but nominal professors of a church and state. In like manner our provincial hierarchy claim exclusively to enjoy the Clergy Reserves. They invite you within the pale of their church, by simple subscription with the pen. Lo! How easy it is to be registered a christian on earth; but it is the wrong way to secure their registry in heaven. Come within the legal precincts of the church, and you share her vast estates; But if you conscientiously dissent, you are doomed to stay without, admiring the grapes of her favoured vineyard, and calling them sour, till tantalized by protracted tasteless contemplation, some may chance to relieve the scruples of non-conformity, and qualify to share their luxurious fruit.

Hume, not so great a friend to religion as he was to monarchy, gives the following account of the effects of political interference with religion and of the attempts to enforce conformity.

"These controversies had already excited such ferment among the people, that in some places they refused to frequent the churches where the habits and ceremonies were used; would not salute the conforming clergy; and proceeded so far as to revile them in the streets, to spit in their faces, and to use them with all manner of contumely. And while the sovereign authority checked these excesses, the flame was confined, not extinguished; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burst out, in the succeeding reigns, to the destruction of the church and monarchy."

And again,

"The fatal St. Bartholomew approached, the day when the clergy were obliged, by the late law, either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles, required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the presbyterian ecclesiastics to refuse the subscription; in hopes that the bishops would not venture at once to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers. The catholic party at court, who desired a great rent among the protestants, encouraged them in this obstinacy, and gave them hopes that the king would protect them in their refusal. The king himself, by his irresolute conduct, contributed, either from design or accident, to increase this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made strict and rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous and scrupulous among the presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their cures; and to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the presbyterians; the last only could be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refused by many."

Let us take from the same author, another specimen of the spirit engendered by political ascendancy in a church.

"By the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who should officiate without being properly qualified, was punishable by fine and imprisonment: but this severity was not thought sufficient for the church. It was now enacted, that every five persons above those of the same household should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the first offence, to be imprisoned three months, or pay five pounds; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third to be transported seven years, or pay a hundred pounds."

This act was not a dead letter; and when church and state were thus linked together with sufficient power to procure such an Act of Parliament, it is not singular that the contagion also infected the courts of law, poisoned the minds of the Judges, and contaminated the fountains of national justice. Thus Wagstaff and others of a jury, in the age of Sir Mathew Hale, were fined 100 marks a piece, by Keeling Lord Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench, "because though evidence was given before them that many persons above the number of five had been assembled in such a place, and had Bibles with them, and were suspicious persons and sectaries; yet the jury would not find them guilty, of keeping a conventicle, upon the late act, because there was no full evidence that they were assembled to exercise any religious worship, as the act runs, And the Jury were committed till they paid their fines."

"And now the court of exchequer was moved in their behalf to remove by certiorari the record of their fines and estreats: to which the Attorney General said, that that concerned the King only, and therefore they were to be removed at the suit and desire of the King only, & not otherwise; & he seemed very angry at such motion was made"; and the recorder of London said, "that those fines belonged to the city by their charter, so that their court had nothing to do with them." They were afterwards brought into the King's Bench upon a habeas corpus; but were not bailed till they had paid their fines."

Such is or at least recently was the law in England, and within these few years a minister of the Established Church was subjected to a complaint for violating this act of parliament attending a domestic prayer meeting for worship of God. This regulation as unjust to Christians as it is insolent to Heaven, is the spring of the connection between Church & State. But we gather from the history of England still more striking & fearful evidence of the tyranny of the Church and State over a suffering country:

But the chief circumstance, whence were derived all the subsequent tyranny and disorders of England, was the execution of the laws for establishment of episcopacy; a mode of government, to which a great part of the nation

had entertained an unsurmountable aversion. The rights of patrons had for some years been abolished; and the power of electing ministers had been vested in the kirk session, and lay elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted on this title, should receive a presentation from the patron, and should be instituted anew by the bishop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid presbyterians concerted measures among themselves, and refused obedience; they imagined that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty parishes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The western counties chiefly were obstinate in this particular. New ministers were sought for all over the kingdom; and no one was so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who loved extremely and respected their former teachers; men remarkable for the severity of their manners, and their fervour in preaching; were inflamed against these intruders, who had obtained their livings under such invidious circumstances, and who took no care, by the regularity of their manners, to soften the prejudices entertained against them."

The fate of Scotland has been the recent fate of Upper Canada. The people have ever been averse to the establishment of a dominant church with any peculiar privileges or endowments from the Government. They have earnestly and repeatedly prayed against it by petitions to the King, numerously signed, for many years past; and this direct expression of their almost unanimous desire, has been seconded by their representatives in this House, in successive Sessions and in successive Parliaments.— Yet recently the united wishes of the people have been painfully and alarmingly violated by forcibly establishing amongst them, in Scotch fashion, the very Episcopal ascendancy they had deprecated. Fifty seven rectories have in open defiance of universal sentiment, been erected within our borders, richly endowed, and armed with exclusive ecclesiastical and spiritual rights and privileges; while with similar defiance, clergy reserves are sold under an English act of parliament passed without our knowledge and consent, to the amount of £70,000, & that amount abstracted from our impoverished land, and paid into the military chest. This is despotism as undeserved by Canada as it is unworthy the parent state. We have not the physical strength, if we had the moral courage of the Scotch, to resist the evil; and therefore necessity may doom us to bow to wrongs, which, because of our weakness, it was ungenerous to inflict. How keenly are we at this hour feeling the scourge which has thus been visited upon us by the ascendancy of the church which in England maintains her adulterous union with the State. Perhaps providence may have in reserve for us some untried way of escape from the impending corruption of religion, and wound of the dearest privileges of an outraged dependency.

The proposition of the learned member for Toronto to divide these Clergy Reserves among a select number of churches is equally, if not more objectionable than the devotion of them to one. Upon what principle is this curious selec-

tion to be made? [Is it to be upon the principle of numerical strength? You might as well measure a man's conscience by his corporal dimensions! Is it to be upon the principle of orthodoxy? Then the learned gentleman must be the Prometheus of the House to draw fire from Heaven, to subject the various creeds to its more than human test in the crucible of truth. Or will he assume to be our Inquisitor-General, and with the aid of a Select Committee summon the christian community to answer his searching investigation? It would be a singular scene: only imagine it. *Inquisitor*.—Do you believe in the Trinity? *Witness*.—That word is not in the bible, pray what do you mean by it? *Inquisitor*.—I am not expounding my faith; I am enquiring after yours. *Witness*.—My faith is between me and my Maker. *Inquisitor*.—Report the contumacious fellow to the Hon. House, that he may be committed to the terrible custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. So that we might at last arrive at that very physical force thought too gross for the modern refinement of those who direct their keener operations against the spiritual part of man. Why should any be selected? Why should any be excluded? It is proposed, I understand, to limit the distribution to the four principal churches, viz.—the Established Church of England, the Roman Catholics, the Scotch Kirk, and the Wesleyan Methodists. If it is just no longer to exclude the three last, it must be unjust to continue the exclusion of others. Enumerate as many reasons as you please for the future admission of any three churches, and each of those reasons will afford an appeal equally forcible in behalf of the neglected ones. The four churches above mentioned are called the principal or leading ones; and, it seems, they are on that account, intitled to consideration. But if they have arrived at their present importance without your aid, it is evidence, the best evidence too, of their ability to maintain it. The great difficulties have been already overcome. Under Providence these churches have become organized, effective and evangelically influential. They have been built, certainly not upon Acts of Parliament, or Clergy Reserves. The admission of them is not pretended to be upon the ground of their poverty or weakness, or from the fear they cannot prosper for the next, as they have done for the past 40 years. Can a christian, then, put his hand on his heart and say, that the proposed extension of the ecclesiastical wealth, is either necessary or intended for the benefit of churches which have heretofore been planted, watered, and matured into temporal independence and spiritual prosperity, with the all-sufficient aid of the divine blessing? When christianity was so diffused thro' all countries, as to be said "to fill the world;" when christians were "innumerable even in distant provinces;" when, says Arnobius, "men of the greatest genius, orators, grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers and physicians," became converts in the face of pagan threats, executions and tortures; when mankind were so univer-

sally christianized, that there remained of the world only a remnant for easy conquest; when the force of truth under the spirit and providence of Heaven had gained this glorious ascendancy; then Constantine offered his alliance and imperial favor. So, you are the Constantines of the day. Seeing that certain churches have firmly taken root and grown into general christian consideration and respect, you obtrude upon them your Clergy Reserves and Parliamentary alliance. As the church under Constantine was corrupted and impaired, so will our religion droop under the patronage with which you may overshadow it.

You will bestow your parliamentary charity. It is usual to give to the needy: but on this occasion it is proposed to enrich those who have already enough. The course pursued would appear more plausible, were aid proposed for the smaller churches whose age and resources might be considered as presenting claims for support.—But it is unaccountable conduct to pass over those who least to those who most want!—If indeed it were a question of worldly policy; if it were a conspiracy on the part of the State to exercise thro' an ecclesiastical connection, a greater degree of political influence in the community; if it were intended by a new relation with these religious orders, to place them above their congregations in temporal matters, and thereby render them freer agents as executive functionaries; if it were desired to weaken the reciprocity between pastors and their flocks, and sacrifice the endearing relations usually subsisting between them, for the purpose of creating as far as possible an identity of feeling and interest between ministers of religion and ministers of state; if in order to impart to government affairs the direct or indirect sanction of religion, and to secure for those affairs the pulpit, domestic and itinerant advocacy of christian teachers, it were resolved to encourage an influential priesthood dependant on the crown; then, indeed, it would be obviously wise and consistent to seek out the most potent and serviceable allies, who would bring to play the greatest amount of religious ascendancy, popular consideration and secular influence. But guided as the House is, or ought to be, solely by a desire of doing good to religion, for religion's sake, & for the promotion of its friendly operation and spiritual predominance and diffusion, it is unaccountable there should be a predilection for the most flourishing churches, and not for those minor ones, which might (if Clergy Reserves can do it) be filled with a warmer zeal and transported into a nobler and holier sphere of ministerial operations. The payment of one church by the state is thought of dangerous tendency. How much more alarming is the proposition to pay four? The danger as it affects both our political and religious condition is increased by it beyond geometrical proportion.—To add the seven of the state to one church is bad; to add it to four is fearfully worse. While there is only one dominant church the vigilance of the rest acts as a salutary check. The ex-

cluded churches are necessarily united for their common vindication, and our liberties, religious and civil, have, therefore, from them the guarantee of an interested co-operation. But when you weaken those churches by magnetising the more potent ones with the Clergy Reserves and thereby drawing them from this christian confederacy, you leave the residue in a helpless and debilitated condition. It is the application of a political maxim to ecclesiastical affairs, "divide and govern."

The endowed churches will have an additional bond of union; but it will be of a worldly kind. The English church have long asserted and maintained their exclusive right; and it would be a calumny against that church to assume they have been more pertinacious than will be their new associates. Hence they will combine to maintain the vast estates conferred upon them, because the rights of each can then only be certainly preserved by sustaining the rights of all. They may indulge the utmost acrimony against each other for alleged heresies, and yet be faithfully banded together to preserve the inviolability of their exclusive temporalities. They may dispute which church should, as an affair of honor, take rank and precedence, and which should have the largest share, or upon what principle the division should be made; but expect not any concession that such superiority can be claimed by others, or that others could, without sacrilege and crime, invade their vested rights.

There is an obvious charm in the operation of these ample donations. Chemists often discover an ingredient which will procure the union of substances, mutually repellent; and the grand desideratum is now found out for holding the most transcendent ecclesiastical contrarieties in harmonious solution. Protestants and Roman Catholics, Kirk and Methodists are reduced to gether by the common solvent of clergy reserves; and I verily believe there would be no precipitate from the addition of a little paganism. The wolfe and the lamb, the leopard & the kid seem to mingle together in prophetic harmony. But in this case, it is not so much from a mixture of spirit as of interest. It is not so much from the milk of human kindness as from the satiety of hierarchal participation. They take their seats at the festival of our public lands; and in language not borrowed from the book of Proverbs or the works of Solomon, they "pick the same bone," they "feather themselves together in the same nests," and they "feed at the same bread and butter."

Much, sir, as I respect many of my Catholic friends, I sincerely believe their church, as they sincerely believe mine, to be in fatal error. Each apprehends with regret, wholly free from unkindness, that the other will be damned. What course does it become us, under this belief, respectively to take? Can I agree to endow the Roman church to enable them the more easily and effectually to propagate the very doctrines against which I protest? Can Roman Catholics properly aid the cause

of heresies, called damnable, with special appropriations? Ought either of us to compromise his faith? If religion is important, it is supremely so. If it is anything, it is everything. To effect then, this worldly accommodation, ought we, by public grants, to accelerate the progress of error and hazard the salvation of immortal souls? Let every man answer these enquiries to himself, upon the principle of patriotism and the hopes of the christian.

Instead of giving those clergy reserves, I am ready and anxious, without fear of present or future consequences, to give them collectively & individually the BIBLE, "that they may read, learn, mark and inwardly digest it." But I will not endow error. Nor will I legislate against it, because I heartily believe that the divine truth contains within itself all the necessary elements for its own achievements. I would as soon give Clergy Reserves to chemists to extract sun-beams from cucumbers for the Sun. Remove all artificial obstructions, and light dispels the darkness wherever it shines. But if, invading the empire and prerogative of Heaven, you endow this darkness, and give it legislative locality and habits, you, more or less, obstruct the genial ray and eclipse the firmament of truth.

Instead of making a State provision for any one or more churches; instead of apportioning the clergy reserves among them with a view of promoting christianity; instead of giving pensions or salaries to ministers, to make them independent of voluntary contributions from the people; I would studiously avoid that policy, and leave truth unfettered and unimpeded to make her own conquests. Lawyers and Physicians have no clergy reserves. They depend upon the support of the community which benefits by their labors. The professions of law and physic are well represented in this Assembly, and bear ample testimony to the sufficient generosity of the people towards them. Will good, pious and evangelical ministers of our holy religion, be likely to fare worse than the physicians of the body? or the agents for our temporal affairs? Let gospel ministers, as the scriptures say, live by the gospel; and the very apostolic maxim that the workman is worthy of his hire, implies the performance of duty rewarded temporally by those who impose or receive it. There is no fear the profession will become extinct from want of professors. Was there (any thing Locke may say to the contrary notwithstanding) ever a nation on the earth, however barbarous, without something of a priesthood? The aborigines of this continent answer in the negative; and the least civilized tribes have their professional functionaries to offer up their occasional sacrifices to the "great spirit." We have had too, from the earliest history of the Province standing evidence to the contrary in the history of the Methodist Episcopal church up to a recent period. That church was planted in this colony without the knowledge or consent of the government. The scattered settlements, otherwise

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destitute, were every where visited by her itinerant ministry, which increased with the population, and wants of the country, and acquired under Providence, acknowledged distinction for the superiority of their numbers, for the devoted character of their piety, for the fervour of their preaching, for the sanctity of their lives, and for the converting influence so abundantly shed upon their highly-favored ministrations. They were, however, regarded by the government with jealousy and contempt; and subjected to indignity under vice-regal repulsion and parliamentary investigation. "Methodist" was a term of reproach; and an hon. member of this House was once expelled for methodistically recommending a collection of his friends to live according to the gospel they professed. Amidst contumely and opposition, however, they flourished almost beyond example. Devoted to the gospel, "all other things were added to them;" and perhaps there has not been, since primitive times, more striking evidence of the existence of "a Kingdom not of this world" swayed by a spiritual sceptre.—Has the christian community, on the other hand, benefited by the late appropriations of the government to religious uses? or has the prospect brightened before the expected distribution of the clergy reserves? When, therefore, we find the christian church in the first three centuries flourishing against the State, and declining under its subsequent patronage under Constantine; and when we see the same thing verified upon a smaller scale within the borders of our own country, surely we need not hesitate practically to believe the proposition that if truth is let alone it will prevail. Such was the advice of Gamahai; and let not learned members forget he was "a doctor of law." He opposed those whose object it was to support the established errors by punishing those who offered the truth. He fortified his position with striking illustrations, & closed his eloquent and dignified address with the following advice: "And now I say unto you, refrain from those men and let them alone; for if their counsel, or their work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it." Lord Bacon (to the best of my recollection) has somewhere said, "when truth is left alone to grapple with error, who ever knew her worsted in the contest?" But our modern philosophers, instead of condescending to be children of truth, aspire to make truth a child to us, to put her into leading strings, wrap her in swaddling clothes, confine her in the nursery, and smother her with kindness under Acts of Parliament! Truth, however, is not an exotic or a hot house plant. It is indigenous in every country, congenial to every climate and the native of every soil. How can it be otherwise, since it proceeded from him who can be found and worshipped equally in every mountain top, in every valley and in every shade.

The course of nature is the course of Providence. It is the practice of every day to confide in it as sufficient to insure the continuance of

those bounties which we receive as dependent creatures. Reposing without timid apprehension in a divine superintending care over material things, why sho'd we be distrustful of equal superintending care over spiritual things? Conscious of our inability to direct terrestrial powers, it is Pagan presumption, like Phaeton, to ascend the chariot of the Sun, and drive with fearful temerity round the zodiac of religious truth. Will learned gen. assume to legislate for the clouds? Do, then, your work of supererogation. Pass a law for a safety-fund of rain. Tax every man with the precautionary duty of periodically watering an allotted portion of the earth, as pabulum for the sun to distill the balmy dew, to supply the winged vapours of the air, to spread out the cloudy curtain of the sky and seasonably diffuse more genial showers. Does this seem absurd? Open, then, the eyes of the understanding and see that it is not less absurd to usurp the spiritual than the physical throne; not less absurd to assume to govern "a kingdom not of this world," than to govern the clouds for him "who rides upon the whirlwind and directs the storm."

In the things about us we witness the particularity of Providence, acting nevertheless under the simplicity of a law which is equally the object of our gratitude and admiration. Let us judge of the certainty, simplicity and efficiency with which he can govern his church, by the display of corresponding attributes in the works of nature. He wields his almighty power not less for all that is little, than for all that is great. By the same apparent natural cause we see controlled the waves of the ocean swelling into tides, and the fluctuation of the least ripple upon the surface of a basin of water. From the same cause we trace the spherical shape of a planet, and of those morning dew drops glittering over the verdant fields like "oriental pearl;" and hence in the house of mourning you see drop after drop, distilled by sorrow, rolling globule after globule down the cheek. Therefore a poet, without indulging in mere poetical license, has justly and beautifully said—

"That very law which moulds a tear
And bids it trickle from its source,
That law preserves the earth a sphere,
And guides the planets in their course."

When it is considered that it is the same power that controls the stupendous movements of the universe, and the simple effervescence of a mixture, we should learn that the relative terms great and little applied to Him "are terms without meaning;" that His providence is equally universal and equally particular; that it is equally conversant with the events of nations and of an individual supplicant; that while it counts the stars of the firmament and the nebule of the milky way, it regards the falling of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of his (Sol. General's) learned head. This particularity of providence in material things affords no apology for a christian's distrust either of his wit or ability to dispense the affairs of that spiritu-

al Kingdom which he has himself established and covenanted to maintain for ever.

Will learned gentlemen pass a law in behalf of gravitation? Gravitation presents to the mind the vastest and sublimest conception within the compass of the universe.—Wherever we go, yea, wherever our thoughts can reach, this all-pervading power extends its illimitable influence.—We acknowledge its presence when we trundle a pebble along the ground, or trace the mariner's lead descending the abyss; we feel it in the heaving of the ocean, & recognise from it all the various & modified motions which the material world affords.—Even if we leave the earth and wander wherever the imagination may choose to rove thro' boundless space, we find at every step as we travel from planet to planet, and from world to world, this mysterious power, so universally diffused as not to leave a point of space, or a solitary atom of matter unconscious of its presence or dominion.—It is every where present and unceasingly active.—With this great truth proved to us by demonstration, can we fail to recognize the greater truth (which this glimpse of the glory of creation was partly intended to illustrate) that he who called all these things into being and upholds them by the word of his power, is also himself every where present and unceasingly active? Can it be difficult to believe of the creator, however wonderful it may be, what we are obliged upon investigation to believe of what he has created? The ancient Psalmist must have had something to supply the place of the illuminations of modern science, when without any knowledge of this all-pervading law of gravitation, he thus so sublimely delineated the corresponding attributes of the God of nature; "Thou art about my path, and about my bed, and spiest out all my ways—such knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for me; I cannot attain unto it—whither shall I go, then, from thy presence? If I climb up into the Heavens, thou art there; if I go down into the bottomless pit, thou art there also.—If I take the wings of the morning and remain in the uttermost part of the sea, even there also shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me."—How strictly the law in this case corresponds to the law-giver! In the contemplation of this stupendous subject, Newton expressed the thought (it has sublimity if not truth) that space the very scene of such mighty works, was the sensorium of the supreme.—And how really is that thought allied to one of divine authority, "in him we live and move and have our being." When therefore, we see the certainty and efficiency with which by one simple law of gravitation he upholds the great and the little every where in the material universe, and therewith "spreads his tender mercies over all his works," surely we have an ample guarantee for the certainty & efficiency of His Holy and all-pervading spirit in dispensing the affairs and

consuminating the glory of the Kingdom of Christ.—We not only thus learn from the light of nature, that his providence is certain and efficient for the advancement of His Church, but we gather from revelation itself, the purely spiritual means by which he has ordained and promised alone to govern and superintend it. When a lawyer is asked by a client how the claims of a deceased person shall be administered, he inquires for his will, from a careful perusal of which he collects the wishes and intentions of the testator.—He does not consider, how he would dispose of his own affairs as a guide for administering those of another; he does not act the part of a mere critic or reviewer of the document before him; nor does he presume to make interpolations in it, or arbitrarily to pass or modify the terms prescribed by it.—He is satisfied honestly to expound the views of the testator as solemnly expressed in his will, and then honestly direct the administration accordingly.—I now hold in my hand a last will and testament.—Christians call it the New Testament; and it is our duty from it to gather and to follow the pleasure of the divine testator.—In our general reasoning and speculations on this subject we might err; but what we collect from this source comes with that authority which it is a matter of prudence and duty to obey.—From the time our Saviour rejected all the Kingdoms of this world, and the glory of them, to the period of his ascension, we derive one consistent lesson respecting his Kingdom, the spirituality of its government, and its seperation from the world. In the sermon from a mountain to great multitudes of people, a sermon embracing a variety of duties, he does not hint at Clergy Reserves, or endowments or national patronage.—The very expression "thy Kingdom come" implies more what the nations should receive than what they ever could confer.—and the concluding words "for thine is the Kingdom, and the power and the glory, for ever," are so decidedly exclusive of the world, and such complete assumption of the whole dominion, that it plainly requires Kings, nations and parliaments to be rather prostrate christians, than with antichristian aristocracy to volunteer themselves patrons or God.

Had it been intended to promote and sustain Christian Churches through the governments of the world, we might expect to meet with appeals to them in their behalf, when the infancy of these churches, according to all human calculation, most needed such interposition. Had it not been unwise and inexpedient, twelve kings with their political establishments, might have been Apostolized instead of the 12 disciples; and surely we might at least look for some admonitions to such civil authorities to afford, as a duty, their patronage and endowments. But I do not remember in the whole compass of the New Testament, a distant intimation of the kind. Christianity was to prevail against governments, but governments were not intrusted or commissioned to rear christianity. And now that christianity has

prevailed against them, their obtruded patronage and endowments are as ill-timed, as they are unneeded, yea, pernicious. Upon commissioning his disciples to go into the world the Saviour said "behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves," and, "take heed to yourselves, for they shall deliver you up to councils, and in the Synagogues ye shall be beaten: and ye shall be brought before rulers and Kings for my sake, for a testimony against them." And what was the testimony? *That they had patronized and endowed that state religion which they believed to be true and which they therefore sustained according to the law of the land against the introduction of what they believed to be error.* If testimony is thus borne against them, it lies equally against us. It will not, however, be a testimony against them for acting according to the dictates of their conscience & the requirements of the law: but for blindness unhappily produced by the corrupting influence of a system which assumed a censorship and dominion, not merely over morals, but over religion, a subject so foreign to their jurisdiction that its sphere exists solely between every individual and his maker. By creating ourselves national judges of what is the true religion, and making our belief of its truth the justification for exercising our parliamentary authority in its establishment and support, we invite by our example all the pagan governments of the earth under the same persuasion to fortify their error and provide means for the stability of their gods. Such an application of Legislative power for the maintenance of idolatry tends to perpetuate it! And of what avail can it be to the christian? It would on the face of it, be an unavailing plea, for Canadians on the judgment day, to say, "Now we see our error, but we followed the established church, sanctioned & endowed by the state."

Our Savior was accused by State accusers, "the nation and chief priests," and of a State offence, "by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God;" he was arrested for it by State authority, "the band and captain and officers of the Jew.;" he was taken before State authority, "Pontius Pilate in the judgment hall." It would, to my mind, be as correct to say that in England, it was unlawful for judges and juries to entertain a complaint against offenders for non conformity, when that law was in force, as to allege illegality against the above proceedings. As it is admitted, our Saviour, instead of being guilty of blasphemy, manifested the glory of God, and taught the religion of truth to mankind, so it must be admitted, the persons accused under the conventicle act, were only guilty of "having Bible;" & engaging in the social worship of their Maker in the name of their Redeemer. In both cases the State exercised powers conferred by the law of the land, but in both cases it was a power, granted & exercised against the law of God as then expressed in natural and now in revealed religion. An act might be passed establishing a new religion in Upper Canada, protected by

penalties to be inflicted upon all non-conformists, just as infidelity was proclaimed in France. The legal right would exist, but founded on a moral wrong, on an offence against God and the religious relation he bears towards his creatures individually. Hence our Saviour upon his arraignment pleaded—1st. That the subject matter did not belong to earthly judicatures, "my kingdom is not of this world." 2dly.—When the judge asked him "Whence art thou?" He "gave him no answer," a very plain indication that such an earthly court could not rightly interfere with the relation he sustained to the most high. 3dly.—When Pilate, like a modern judge, rebuked him for standing mute, and averred his "power to crucify or release," the Saviour answered in these memorable words, "Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above; therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." This was another distinct plea to the jurisdiction: it declared that the offence of the person who delivered him, was not only great but the greater because he arraigned him before a tribunal which had no power delegated from Heaven, to adjudicate in such a matter. But the present attempt parliamentarily to judge between the churches; to elect what creeds shall be admitted to, and what excluded from official patronage and endowment; to decide what christians profess a faith intitling them to participate the wealth of the government, and what christians for some implied heresy or unworthiness should merely receive toleration; to invade the "kingdom not of this world" with invidious and sectarian privileges by the conferring of which, some churches are to be honored, and by the withholding of which, others are to be cashiered by the State; these parliamentary attempts thus to sow the seeds of jealousy among the churches of Christ, taint them with envy and infect them with an artificial anti-christian aristocracy, are in practice, in principle and in consequences, so closely allied to the deprecated interference of the world with the supremacy of the Messiah, that any affectation of a distinction would vanish in a refinement.

Whenever persons volunteered in the cause of christianity upon its first announcement, nothing of the nature of Clergy Reserves was intimated to them; but the church was exhibited poor of the world and rich of heaven. When the scribe said, "I will follow thee wheresoever thou goest;" he was cheered with no present or future prospect of princely or national support, "the foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head;" nor does it appear that he afterwards enlisted himself in the service of a kingdom which was engaged in a war with the whole world; a kingdom, therefore, which could expect from its governments as little aid then, as it can need from them now. The same sentiment is pursued when the young man of great possessions made his enquiries after salvation in an early period of the christian ministry. If the church was to be

at any time indebted to the wealth of the world for nourishment and growth, it appeared at this primitive stage more particularly to require it. And had such been the destined policy of the spiritual hierarchy, the presumption is that the young man would have been instructed as a matter of duty to convert his "great possessions" into clergy reserves for the support of the present and the encouragement of future disciples; for "the harvest was plentiful, and the labourers few." A very different conclusion, however, must be drawn from the injunction "sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor and follow me." The church among clergy reserves, is represented, "as seed among thorns;" "the care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word and it becometh unfruitful." Wherever in the form of a parable a prophetic account is given of the course and history of the church, no part is assigned to parliaments or national endowments.

Hence the Saviour represents himself as, "the true vine" and his father as "the husbandman"—and instead of referring, in any degree whatever, the growth and fruitfulness of the branches to national and parliamentary endowments, (without which some apprehend the vine will wither away) it is emphatically said, in explanation of the sole source of productiveness, "without me ye can do nothing."—"I have chosen you and ordained you, that you should go and bring forth fruit and that your fruit should remain"—and at the same time, instead of conciliating the favor of the powers of the world, or prophesying their future co-operation, he announced their hatred and persecution. It is obvious from the context that the disciples were somewhat dismayed, when "these things were spoken unto them that they might not be offended."—"They saw a world of powers linked with paganism. These powers were to be overcome against the utmost exercise of their hatred and persecution,—and when subdued, it is not said or hinted, that they should be received as an ally or be allowed to sway the sceptre of the kingdom accomplishing their subjugation.

The disciples are dismayed—How are they comforted? With the prospect of Clergy Reserves? or of national endowments? or of parliamentary legislation? Not one word of consolation is derived from the world—There is no prophetic description of any kindred relation present or future between Church and State, either to bring forth the fruit or make it remain. They were "to teach all nations" and to "feed the sheep," in the midst of martyrdom and death—and their encouragement is, "be of good cheer, I have overcome the world" and the "father shall give you another comforter that he may abide with you forever; even the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive;" the very world, indeed, without whose aid learned gentlemen would make me believe, christianity would become extinct.

Here is the last will and testament. It appoints, to carry out the analogy, an executor:

but not of Kings or Parliaments. It is expressly and exclusively, "the comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, to remain with thee forever."—Go and teach all nations "and lo I am with you to the end of the world."

This promise is itself enough, and in the first centuries it was all-prevailing. It neither needs nor asks the super-addition of those national endowments, which, according to the experience of the past ages, and the testimony of Divines, "have added to the wealth, but destroyed the spirituality of the church."

Attempts were made to defeat divine prophecy by re-building Jerusalem: but so safe was the truth under the supreme care, which is now distrusted, that the repeated attempts were as repeatedly defeated by a miraculous interference. The following is the account given by Dr. Moshem.

"As Julian affected in general, to appear moderate in religious matters, unwilling to trouble any on account of their faith, or to seem adverse to any sect or party, so to the Jews, in particular, he extended so far the marks of his indulgence as to permit them to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. The Jews set about this important work; from which, however, they were obliged to desist, before they had even begun to lay the foundations of the sacred edifice. For, while they were removing the rubbish, formidable balls of fire, issuing out of the ground with a dreadful noise, dispersed both the works and the workmen, and repeated earthquakes filled the spectators of this astonishing phenomenon with terror and dismay. This signal event is attested in a manner that renders its evidence irresistible, though, as usually happens in cases of that nature, the Christians have embellished it by augmenting rashly the number of the miracles that are supposed to have been wrought upon that occasion. The causes of this phenomenon may furnish matter of dispute; and learned men have, in effect, been divided upon that point. All, however, who consider the matter with attention and impartiality, will perceive the strongest reasons for embracing the opinion of those who attribute this event to the almighty interposition of the Supreme Being; nor do the arguments offered by some to prove it the effect of natural causes, or those alleged by others to persuade us that it was the result of artifice and imposture, contain any thing that may not be refuted with the utmost facility."

According to the language of St. Paul, "Christ is the head of the body, the Church." Lawyers will observe that it is not "a head," which would imply the possible existence of others; nor is it "the chief head," which would admit of subordinate ones: but it is emphatically expressed "the head," supreme, admitting the pretensions of no other, the assumption of no deputy, and the competition of no King, national executive or legislative assembly. What is meant by the head? It is the part by which we see, and hear and direct the movements of the general frame. In like manner, as "the Head," He has an eye and an ear spiritually to commune with His church and superintend its whole economy. This pledge he hitherto has,

and will continue to redeem. Do you doubt it? Will you (I speak it not irreverently) erect this Parliament into the Chancery of Heaven, and issue a commission of lunacy in the case?—It sounds, indeed, as profane, as much to need an introductory apology. But does it not savor of the same profanity, to talk of building christianity, not on "the rock" with the "chief corner stone," but on acts of parliament, clergy reserves, and state patronage? "If it be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." Admit, then, of no ecclesiastical treason; sanction no usurpation; attempt not to pass the baser currency of the world in His spiritual kingdom. But fearlessly leave the church to her King, with such ministers as shall hear and obey His voice, "take up your cross and follow me"; and believe that the free-will offerings of every grateful convert, being all that is asked, will under his providence, flow into the sacred treasury with enough wisely to supply all temporal wants without the fear of poverty, or the greater fear of those superabundant riches, with which "even a rich man can scarcely enter into Heaven."

What then are Kings and governments to do for christianity? Let them conduct the affairs of the people in such a manner as will yield the greatest degree of general intelligence and prosperity, faithfully extending equal religious and civil rights to all. Truth and error will then, politically speaking, be put upon their respective resources; and there can be as little fear that the former will not prevail over the latter, as that God will not prevail over Mammon.

The divine language addressed to multitudes of people, is surely applicable to a limited few of that number, engaged in the management of their common affairs. "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven."

Governments will most substantially promote and enrich the christian church, by exemplifying in their private relations and in their public deportment, the graces of the gospel. But the government which puts "its candle under the bushel," and is seen in its principles and its

results, by that glimmer, which barely renders "the darkness visible," affords by its political patronage a shameful and unprofitable substitute for those more spiritual endowments.

To what purposes, then, ought these reserves to be applied? To the general education of the people. Philosophy has been well styled "the handmaid of religion;" and while the general diffusion of knowledge will augment the happiness of the community, it will at the same time enrich the corroborative testimonies in favor of divine truth, and diminish that ignorance and error which have heretofore rendered it less accessible to mankind.

If our religion has in past times triumphantly prevailed against the powers of this world and of darkness too, how incalculably we may facilitate her conquests by merely levelling, as it were, the theatre of her operations, and giving freer scope to her spiritual warfare.—Altho' many great men have brought all the force of their minds to bear against christianity, and have thrown over it the clouds of infidelity, yet those clouds have served to give greater refraction to the truth shining through them, & thereby enhanced and enlightened what they were intended to darken and enshroud—just as the moon rising in an evening fog seems really the nearer and the greater for the very mist about her.—Thus Gibbon is converted into a commentator upon the fulfilment of prophecy. If such has been the course of christianity under multiplied disadvantages, the abatement of those disadvantages will contribute to mature its meridian, and usher in the approaching millennium.

With these views, Sir, it is my intention, should the motion for the adoption of the preamble of the bill before you be lost, to move the following resolution:

"That it is expedient to provide for the sale of the Clergy Reserves, and the application of the proceeds to the purposes of General Education, as one of the most legitimate ways of giving free scope to the progress of religious truth in the community."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL.—Mr. Chairman:— All parties, I doubt not, will readily admit, that if there be one subject more than another, the discussion of which, should be approached with calmness and solemnity—that should be investigated in the spirit of forbearance and candour, with minds earnestly bent on coming to a decision consistent with truth and justice—it is the question under consideration. It will, I trust, be borne in remembrance, that this Assembly was constituted and organized for the purpose of legislating for the peace, welfare, and good government of the inhabitants of this Province, and that, in the performance of this all-important duty, we are now about to determine a question which may be truly said to involve the highest interests and future happiness of the people we represent and their descendants; it, therefore, becomes an obvious and imperative duty to take

care that no rancorous feeling of personal dislike, or party animosity, should betray us into a departure from that course of conduct, which, as men and christians, we are called upon to pursue, and which the deepest obligations of duty to those who have intrusted their dearest and most important interests to our hands, require us to follow. In this temper, and with these impressions, I shall now proceed to offer to the consideration of the committee the observations it is my intention to make—and I hope that if, in the course of my remarks, I should fall into the repetition of some arguments and statements that have, on former occasions, been advanced by me in the presence of some honorable gentlemen now here, I shall be excused, and not thought to be designedly as well as unnecessarily trespassing on their time—especially, when it is recollected that I have so often expressed

my sentiments, in public, on the question before us, that it is almost impossible to avoid repeating some remarks employed on previous occasions. It will, I am sure, be generally conceded that the speech of the hon. and learned member for Norfolk (Dr. Rolph) stands pre-eminent among those delivered in favour of the alienation of the property of the church to purposes of general education. The character which the hon. and learned gentleman has justly acquired for eloquence and classical knowledge was amply sustained in the speech alluded to; but candour requires me to declare, that I failed to discover any solid argument throughout the whole of his address by which to sustain his conclusions. If I understood the hon. and learned gentleman correctly, his design was to prove—1st. That the connection of Church and State was and had ever been destructive of religion—2d. That religion would more surely prosper without the aid of State or public support for its ministers—And 3d. That the Reserves set apart by the Constitution for the support of a Protestant Clergy in these Provinces should be taken away and disposed of for general education, because no dominant or Established Church should be suffered to exist. I shall offer some observations on each of these propositions. I own I was a little surprised to hear the hon. and learned gentleman attempt to sustain his first position by asserting that the Polytheism of the ancients was overthrown and owed its destruction to its connection with the State! Sir; I have been taught to ascribe the regeneration of the heathen world to a very different cause, namely, to the diffusion of the light of the gospel through the instrumentality of the Saviour of mankind. I have been led to believe that the divine light of truth which by his visitation was shed abroad in the world, taught the then powerful and, in some respects, enlightened natives of the earth the folly as well as wickedness of their form of worship, and led them to abandon the profane adoration of their idols, and bow the knee to the previously unknown, but true God. It may be, however, that I have misunderstood the hon. and learned gentleman, and, therefore, I will proceed to consider the less questionable authorities which he has called to his assistance. When the hon. and learned gentleman quoted the learned and pious Dr. Moshien to prove that the christian religion degenerated, and its ministers became corrupt and wicked from the time that religion was identified with, and was taken under the protection of the State, I felt satisfied that he was not justified in using the name of that eminent historian of the church for any such purpose—for, although my literary attainments and knowledge of books are far inferior to those of the hon. and learned gentleman, I had not forgotten the numerous authorities that exist to prove that long prior to the days of Constantine, the first monarch that embraced the christian religion, its ministers had sunk into a state of voluptuousness and debauchery, disgraceful to them as followers of their divine master. I therefore cannot but thank the hon. and learned member for having quoted from Dr. Moshien in support of his assertion, that from the time the christian religion was identified with the State, its ministers became corrupt and profligate, and religion itself fell in-

to disgrace and disrepute—because, he cannot now object to my citing the same author to prove the very reverse of this position, and clearly to show that more than a hundred years before the Emperor Constantine proclaimed himself a convert to christianity, and extended his protection to the christian religion, its ministers had become depraved and wicked, and that from the time the christian religion became the religion of the State, it flourished and extended in a manner almost miraculous. About the commencement of the second century the ministers of the christian religion introduced extensive changes in the ecclesiastical government Dr. Moshien says that—

"These changes were followed by a train of vices, which dishonoured the character and authority of those to whom the administration of the church was committed.—For, though several yet continued to exhibit to the world illustrious examples of primitive piety and christian virtue, yet many were sunk in luxury and voluptuousness, pulled up with a neglect of confession and repentance, and addicted to many other vices, that cast an unreserved reproach upon the holy religion, of which they were the unworthy professors and ministers. This is testified in such an ample manner, by the repeated complaints of many of the most respectable writers of this age, that truth will not permit us to spread the veil, which we should otherwise be desirous to cast over such enormities among an order so sacred."—*Vol. I, page 335.*

In this condition the christian church is represented to have remained until when? Why, Sir, until the time it became identified with the State: until the period of the accession of Constantine the Great, who became a convert to its doctrines, through the miraculous interposition of Providence, as he declared, and forthwith extended to it his protection, and declared the christian religion to be the *established religion of the Empire*. And in what manner does Dr. Moshien speak of this auspicious event? One would be led to imagine from the remarks of the hon. and learned member, and from the passage cited by him from the same author I am now quoting, that this learned and pious man denounced it as fatal to the prosperity and stability of the church and religion—for otherwise is the fact. Hear what he says upon the subject:

"The divine providence, however, was preparing more serene and happy days for the church. In order to this, it confounded the schemes of Gabriel, and brought his counsels to nothing. In the year 308, Constantine Chlorus dying in Britain, the army saluted with the title of Augustus, his son Constantine, summoned afterwards the Great, on account of his illustrious exploits, and forced him to accept the purple."—*Vol. I, page 318.*

"After the defeat of Licinius, the empire was ruled by Constantine alone until his death, and the christian cause experienced, in its happy progress, the effects of his auspicious administration. This zealous prince employed all the resources of his genius, all the authority of his laws, and all the energy of his munificence and liberality, to drive, by every means, the superstitious of paganism, and to propagate christianity in every corner of the Roman empire."—*Page 325-7.*

Dr. Moshien further informs us that to the zeal and diligence with which Constantine and his successors exerted themselves in the cause of Christianity and in extending the limits of the Churches is to be ascribed the number of barbarous and uncivilized nations which received the gospel—the Abyssinians, the Georgians, the Goths, the Gauls, and other then barbarous races of men became converts to Christianity, and from that period is to be dated its greatest prosperity. In no instance has any monarch, since the days of Constantine, separated from the Christian Church, with the exception of the Roman Em-

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peror known as Julian the apostate, and to whose apostacy and return to pagan superstitions, the hon. and learned member has adverted, but with what object I did not clearly understand:—He of course did not ascribe the act to the circumstance of the Christian Religion having been taken under the protection of the State, as it is well known that his motives were of a very different character. Having said this much to show the advantage of the Christian Religion derived from its connection with the State under the Roman Emperors and their successors, I will now draw the attention of the committee to an era which, as Protestants, we have been taught to regard as most auspicious in purifying the church from the impurities and errors into which it is admitted it had fallen from the misconduct of many of its ministers—I mean the Reformation. But before doing this, it is necessary to remark that up to this period, the Temporal power was subordinate to that of the Ecclesiastical. The kings of the Christian world up to the time of Henry the 8th submitted to the supreme power of the Pope, and acknowledged that they held their crowns and exercised their authority subject to his control, as the universal spiritual head of the church. If therefore the ministers of religion fell into dispute, and if the cause of religion itself suffered in consequence, it cannot be said that it was caused by the interference of the State, inasmuch as the kings were subject to the Pope, who permitted no secular interference with his spiritual power. But to proceed—Henry the 8th for reasons it is not necessary to refer to, came to the determination of renouncing the authority of the Pope as the head of the church within his dominions, and of assuming the supremacy himself—from this period it is that we are to date the connection of Church and State within the British Dominions as it now exists. I know not in what light the hon. and learned member views the conduct of Henry the 8th; he may consider it as having proceeded from motives the most base and unworthy, and I am by no means disposed to dispute the point; but he will I dare say admit that the Almighty in his own good time raises up men as his instruments and appoints the manner in which his all-wise purposes shall be carried into effect, and I will now ask the hon. and learned gentleman to state whether in his opinion the Reformation was attended with benefit to the Christian religion or not? if he answer in the affirmative, as I assume he will—I then ask him and all others who take an interest in this momentous question, whether that good could have been achieved unless Henry the 8th had placed himself at the head of the church, and taken its Bishops, Priests, and Ministers, under his protection? who could have withstood the power and authority of the Roman Pontiff—what minister would have dared to encounter the denunciations and proscriptions that would have followed his alleged heresy if he were not supported by his Sovereign and the State? No Sir!—No truth was ever more clearly demonstrated than that the Reformation could not have been accomplished had it not been led on and sustained by the temporal power and approbation of the king. True it is that Henry did not renounce his religion; on the contrary he continued an adherent of the doctrines of the church of Rome until his death, and it was only

upon the accession of his successor Edward the 6th that the Protestant Faith became the Established Religion of the land, and has continued so since that period to the present, with the exception of the short reign of Mary, during which the Roman Pontiff regained his ascendancy, but which was finally extinguished by her successor Queen Elizabeth;—the first act of whose reign was to declare the Protestant Religion to be the religion of the kingdom and all the dependencies then belonging or which should afterwards belong to the Crown of England; and from that period to the present it has flourished, and by the providence of God will continue to flourish to the end of time in despite of its enemies, latent or avowed. Having thus proved I trust satisfactorily, that the Christian Religion instead of suffering from its connection with the State, owes its prosperity in a great degree to that connection—having shown that to one Sovereign it is indebted under Providence for having been rescued from Heathen persecution and outrage, and to another for its purification from imputed errors, and inordinate ambition and worldly lust, I will now offer some observations on the second branch of the hon. and learned gentleman's argument, namely, that temporal endowments, or in other words support from public funds is injurious to the true interests of religion. It is with no small surprise that I hear this assertion advanced by the hon. and learned member;—himself a distinguished graduate of one of the first seats of learning in the universe, and which in consequence of the support it has for centuries received from the State, has been enabled to send forth from its Classic Halls, men eminent for the profundity of their knowledge and the piety of their lives—whose learning has shed rays of light throughout the universe to conduct our fellow mortals in security and peace to religion and happiness. I might go back to the earliest ages of christianity and trace its history down to the days of the Reformation, and ask the hon. and learned gentleman to bring to his recollection the inestimable, the really incalculable advantages mankind has derived from the support given to the church by public and permanent endowments;—notwithstanding all the errors and vices that have been ascribed to the Church of Rome within the period I have mentioned,—to whom are we indebted for almost all the knowledge, sacred and profane we at this moment possess, of the literature and labours of the thousands of wise and good men that have led the way to our present condition as a religious, civilized, and enlightened people? The answer must be to the clergy—and with equal truth and certainty it must be admitted that had it not been for the encouragement and support derived from permanent and public support, these men would not have had the inducements, and consequently would not have attained the capacity to write for our learning as they have done. And as some further advantage derived from this State support, if it is to be so called—let me ask the hon. and learned member to cast his eyes over the different countries of the Christian world, and see the towering, the noble Cathedrals—and the more lowly churches like priceless gems studding the field of his observation, and dedicated to the service of the Creator:—to whom and to what

means are we indebted for these "fit abodes of hopes of immortality"?—The reply I know must be, to the christian adoration and benevolence of pious men, and the funds provided by State endowments. In like manner let me solicit the hon. & learned gentleman to recall to his recollection to what cause or source we are indebted for the many noble seats of learning that are dispersed throughout the world, and which have supplied us with those streams of knowledge he so well understands, and I doubt not fully appreciates? to what do we mainly owe these vast advantages but to State endowments? take them away and what would become of those illustrious Halls which now adorn the Classic banks of the Cam and the Isis—the pride of England—the admiration of the world? can the hon. and learned gentleman contemplate with complacency the overthrow of institutions that were once, I have no doubt, the objects of his veneration, and which I hope are still cherished in his grateful remembrance?—Did he ever contemplate the possibility of his revisiting the University in which he received his Classic honours, and where had he remained, he might have attained additional well merited distinction, and finding its halls desolate and deserted—no longer the seat of science—the fountain of wisdom—the dispenser of learning and religion? Surely the bare idea would fill him with horror; and yet such must be the result, if the doctrines he now advocates are those which ought to be adopted in furtherance of true religion. It might be argued that if it be wrong to provide for the support of Ministers of the church, when ordained, from public funds, so also is it improper to provide for their education preparatory to their ordination from the same means, and if this position were acted upon, then would there be an end of one of the chief inducements for endowing and maintaining public Seminaries of learning. No person knows better than the hon. and learned member, that the Universities, Colleges, and public Schools, of Great Britain and Ireland have for centuries been thronged by young men, who are anxious for church preferment, it may be that some of those who sought ordination were not originally actuated by that pure and single motive which impels some men to advance the spiritual welfare of their fellow mortals; but whether this be so or not, no one will deny that mankind is deeply indebted to those institutions for a large proportion of the religious knowledge it possesses. If public provision for the support of Ministers did not exist, we may with too much reason fear that numbers of those pious and learned men who, educated at public Seminaries, afterwards adorned and promoted religion by the purity of their lives and the soundness of their doctrines, would have devoted their commanding talents to other pursuits; and if this had been the case, would the Church of England have been the only body of christians that would have suffered? Far otherwise; the pious, zealous, and humble missionary is oftentimes, nay, generally taken from that class of men who never had the advantages of the higher orders of education within their reach, how then does he prepare himself for his holy and deeply important duty? The days of inspiration it is admitted have passed away, and therefore he can obtain the necessary informa-

tion by no other means than applying to the works of those who have been more fortunate in their means and opportunities of drinking deep at the great sources of knowledge, and who have published to the world the results of their laborious investigations. Will the truth of this be denied by the missionary and ministers of the many christian sects not of the Established Church? Quite sure I am that it will not; they will be the last to desire to see overthrown the venerable parent to whose heavenly instruction they are so largely indebted; and if I be right, then sir, let me ask whether this world is now so enlightened, whether it has attained that degree of perfection that it is no longer necessary to hold out extraordinary inducements to mankind to investigate the deep and all-important truths of religion, and the yet hidden secrets of nature? If it be necessary that we should continue onward with unabated vigor in the acquirement of knowledge, on no account let us disturb those institutions, (the most prominent of which, is the Established Church of England) from which we have already derived so many blessings, and which, if we will permit them, will continue to render their powerful aid in making us wise unto salvation.

I will now advert to the last position of the hon. and learned gentleman, viz: that the R. serves set apart for the support of Protestant Clergy should be otherwise disposed of because no dominant, or Established Church should exist. My hon. and learned friend from Lenox & Addington, whose excellent speech I listened to with the greatest satisfaction, has already shown the absurdity of calling the Church of England in this country, a dominant Church: the term is either misunderstood, or misapplied by those who use it. There is not any dominant Church here—the Church of England possesses no power to coerce or control any other body of christians—it has it not in its power to enforce the payment of tithes, and the people are not subject to any exactions for its support; if contributions for the support of its ministers be made, they are as completely voluntary as are the contributions of Presbyterians, Methodists, or any other sect whatever.

With respect to the Church of England being the Established Church, I will merely ask the hon. and learned gentleman, to consult but for a moment his legal knowledge, and ask himself whether the Church of England would be less the Established Church of this Province, if not one acre of land had been reserved for its support, than it is with the appropriation that has been made for that object? Unquestionably not—it is not the possession of land that renders the Church of England the Established Church; if that were so, then would the Presbyterians, Methodists, and other religious sects, be Established Churches, as they all possess or may possess lands under the authority of an Act of the Provincial Parliament, and it signifies not whether these lands were acquired by gift from the Crown or by purchase. That the Church of England is the Established Church of this Province, and of all His Majesty's other dominions, Scotland excepted, is unquestionably true; although the fact has been by some persons occasionally denied. Upon a former occasion I

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felt it expedient to bring forward the authorities by which this point was placed beyond dispute: I will not cite them at length now, but if there be any who desire further investigation of the subject, I will briefly refer them to 1st Eliz. chap. 1, where they will find it enacted that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction that had previously been exercised by the Pope was for ever extinguished, and conferred to the Crown, throughout the dominions and countries then belonging to, or which afterwards should belong to, or be annexed to the King, born of England, and the Protestant Reformed religion was established throughout the realm. This Statute expressly re-enacted in the Act of Union with Scotland, and again made applicable to every part of the British dominions then belonging or which might afterwards be acquired, and of Great Britain, the Statute of 1706. It was considered binding, and is so considered by the binding on this subject, viz. the 1st of the reference to the 11th of Elizabeth, the Statute that conferred a settled form of government on the Canadas, and is further re-enacted in our own Constitutional Act, as well as in numerous Provincial Acts scattered throughout the Statute book.—As a further practical proof of the correctness of the position I have assumed, I will call the attention of the hon. and learned gentleman to the fact, that a Bishop has been appointed to these Provinces, who exercises all the spiritual functions of a Bishop in England, such as ordination, confirmation, and the like. Ministers of the Church of England are also permitted to marry and perform all the duties of clergymen, and these several acts are not admitted to be legal, on no other ground than that the establishment of the Church of England being co-extensive with the British dominions, Scotland excepted, its clergy have an original legal right to act as such wherever they may reside within the limits of their Sovereign dominions. I will notice another evidence:—The hon. and learned gentleman will recollect, that to libel or bring into contempt or derision the Liturgy of the Church of England, is an indictable offence, while so to treat the Confession of Faith, or any other book of a like description, is not punishable, unless, indeed, the offence includes some outrage of the Christian religion. And now I must confess that it would gratify me to hear from the hon. and learned gentleman, any argument he could produce against the usefulness and necessity of maintaining an Established Church. Will he venture to argue that it is not the duty of every government to shew reverence and obedience to the holiest and highest duties imposed on man by his Creator; will he maintain that the condition of that people can be happy or that their situation secure, who live in a state of moral and religious degradation so as to be without laws for the punishment of blasphemy, or which, if any do exist, are so feeble that no one dares or thinks of enforcing them? That such a state of things have existed, and I fear do still exist, is most true. France for a short period exhibited one example, and a neighbouring Republic presents us with another,—the former has passed away, and the latter continues for our instruction, and what are the lessons it teaches? Do we not hear of their public halls in their principal

cities being occupied Sabbath after Sabbath with the consent, as it is to be presumed, of their Magistrates, with bands of profane and misguided beings who openly inculcate the doctrine that the Christian religion is a cheat, and the Saviour of mankind an impostor; that man is not accountable to his Creator for his conduct, and that he is bound by no other rule of action than such as his own vicious and corrupt nature may suggest; scolding and treating with utter derision and contempt the holy Scriptures, as well as all those institutions, human and Divine, which we have been accustomed to regard with veneration, and upon which we have been taught to build our hopes of happiness here and hereafter? Have we not seen it announced that in the city of Rochester, not one hundred miles from our own shores, a public meeting of 700 persons were employed in discussing the following propositions:—

“That it is an infringement of national and constitutional liberty for the Legislature to require any day to be kept holy; and also that it is an infringement of liberty to require any witness to give his evidence upon oath, to maintain the tenderest human rights requires from every legislator, as an avowal that he believes in a Supreme Being and a future state, which belief, if it is desirable, is a sound criterion, yet none should be required to declare it.”

Such be the consequences of being without an Established Church, and as a consequence without laws for the punishment of outrages against it. I have noticed, with the hon. and learned gentleman say that an Established Church is not worth upholding? I trust he will not say that it is not—at all events, I am sure it will regulate every well-regulated mind, and be a source of pride and thankfulness that the Christian religion is identified with the common law of our land—that *our institutions are based on the laws of God*—and that by reverencing and protecting them as far as human means can, from insult and profanation, we hope for protection to our King and to our government. But, as connected with this branch of the subject the hon. gentleman says that there not only ought not to be any Established Church, but that all the ministrations of religion should be left to the voluntary contributions of their congregations for support—and to maintain this latter position, he has employed many words and much eloquence—but, Sir, I cannot admit that he has advanced any solid argument, any more than that he has quoted some single authority to which any sapienter can be attached to support his opinion: I think it would be surprising if he had done so, but such are all those illustrious men, whose opinions he has cited with so much and just approbation, would, *every one of them, give evidence against him*. The learned and pious Dr. Johnson, whose work was the first hon. and learned gentlemen called to his aid, was a member of an Established Church, and a distinguished member of several literary institutions sustained by public funds. Burnet and Newton, it is scarcely necessary to say, were Bishops of the Established Church, and to these names the hon. and learned gentlemen might have added Taylor, Mosher, Horne, Porteus, Berkley—celebrated for his peculiar philosophy—Layton, and a host of others, each of whom would have furnished him with arguments convincing—if human argument could convince any one—of the error of his opinions. There is one other authority which has

been cited by the hon and learned gentleman, although for a different purpose, which I also will mention on the present occasion—I mean Dr. Chalmers—a man whose unostentatious deeds of piety and benevolence have rendered his name as familiar to the inmates of the peasant's cottage in his native land, as his matchless eloquence, his extensive learning, his deep but pure philosophy, and his ardent and laborious investigations and expositions of the truths of religion, have rendered him illustrious throughout the christian world, and among all classes of its inhabitants. It is with pride and satisfaction that I can speak of having formed a personal acquaintance with this great and good man, and no one who has ever seen him but for an hour will believe that ambition or any other worldly motive has any thing to do with his opinions for or against the ecclesiastical institutions of his country. What, then, does he say in reference to an Established Church? I will read his opinion from his admirable work on endowments:—

"This is the good of an establishment. The people, instead of being left to go in quest of religious instruction, have, by its means, the instruction obtruded upon them.—Generally speaking, they have not so much of desire or demand for the article, as that they shall themselves originate the movement towards it, and far less, travel the whole distance, and make all the efforts and all the sacrifices necessary to obtain it. In the vast majority of instances, would neither the requisite trouble be taken, nor the requisite expense be incurred. They have not enough of native appetite to create an effective demand for the food; and, unlike to the corporeal, the want of this food, instead of whetting the spiritual appetite, would only dull and deaden it the more. We have, therefore, no doubt, that, on the event of our establishment being swept away, and a mere system of free trade being substituted in its place, the moral effect would be tremendous. That which gave activity and healthful impulse to the commerce of our land would be of withering effect upon its christianity. Let the machinery, if needful, be actuated by the force and the fire of another principle—let all its rust and other unwholesome elements be done away—let it be provided with more efficient workmen—and every thing be done so as that it perform its evolutions more sweetly and yet more powerfully than before—but let it not be taken down. It never will be replaced by the spontaneous act, or kept in operation by the spontaneous habit of the people. It may be better wrought at one time, and worse at another; but, even with all its corruptions, our establishment is a stay and a safeguard:—and a helpless, headlong degeneracy would ensue from the demolition of it."

I think I cannot better conclude this branch of the subject than with the authority I have quoted, and I will now proceed to a view of the matter, which will probably be thought more applicable to the question under discussion.

The bill before the committee is intended to take away the lands which, by the Constitution, are appropriated for the support and maintenance of "a Protestant Clergy" and apply them to purposes of "General Education." I have already shown that I am sufficiently in favour of promoting education by establishing and supporting Seminaries of learning, from public funds, and I shall be ever found ready to give my best support to any necessary measure having that important object in view; but is it necessary to take the lands given for religious purposes, and apply them to that object? Have we not hundreds of thousands of acres if we will but make use of them, which may be so applied, and may we not have more if enough has not been already placed at our disposal? Where then is the necessity of despoiling religion for the furtherance of education? none whatever. May it not be said that there is great and heed-

less inconsistency in the arguments and objects of the advocates of this measure; they will richly endow, and load with superabundant wealth, Seminaries of learning; they will provide for the gratuitous and elaborate education of the youth of the country; but when any one of them assumes the deeply responsible and important office of ministers and teachers of religion, they are left to beg their bread or live on the charity of mankind? What strange perversity—what singular contradictions does the mind of man too often display! I invite the attention of the advocates of these mischievous and inconsistent opinions, to the arguments and observations of Dr. Chalmers, and let them confute them if they can.

But it is said that the appropriation of these Reserves to the support of religion is unpopular with the great mass of the people; that they require that they should be disposed of for purposes of education, and that nothing else will satisfy them. However confident some may be of the truth of this opinion, I am not disposed to admit it to be correct; on the contrary, I maintain that the people at large do not, and never did desire that the Clergy Reserves should be taken away from the support of religion; they may and perhaps do not wish to see them appropriated exclusively to one sect or denomination of christians, but they do not desire that they should be altogether alienated to secular purposes. If I were to call upon those who differ with me in opinion to prove the correctness of the judgment they have formed, I might be referred to the votes of this House for some years past, and, perhaps, to numerous signed petitions which were sent to England a few years since, and to the opinions expressed by some of the leaders of an highly respectable and numerous religious body in this Province; but in answer to each of these I would say that it is but too notorious that the votes of members of past assemblies on this important question, were more influenced by an unreasonable hostility to the ministers and establishment (not religion) of the Church of England, than from any conviction that christianity would be benefited by their attempts at abolition. With respect to the petitions referred to, it is a fact too notorious to require refutation that they were obtained under circumstances that destroyed all claim to serious consideration; and, as to the opinions of the individuals I have mentioned, although entitled to respect as coming from men of intelligence connected with a large class of the Christian community, they were but the opinions of individuals.

But, Sir, more nearly to test the question, whether the people of this Province generally, or in any considerable numbers, require that the Reserves should be taken from the support of religion and applied to purposes of education, let us look to the origin of this controversy, the views of its original promoters, and the views expressed by the four leading sects throughout the Province, and who, it will be admitted, compose the great bulk of the population; I mean the members of the Church of England, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Catholics.

The first notice taken of the Reserves by the Legislature was in 1817, when a resolution was proposed in the House of Assembly,

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but not finally acted upon, declaratory of the opinion of the House that the Reserves impeded the improvement of the country, and that they should be sold, and Churches built and endowed with the proceeds.

In 1822 the first attempt was made to divert them from the exclusive support of the Church of England. In the House of Assembly some of the members connected with the Church of Scotland advanced a claim to a share of these Reserves, on the ground that the Church of Scotland was a concurrent Established Church in Canada, and therefore came within the meaning and spirit of the Constitutional Act, which appropriated these Reserves to the support of "a Protestant Clergy." Those members at that time in the House who were of the Methodist persuasion, as well as several other sects, voted in favour of the pretensions of the Church of Scotland, and thus in the onset admitted the advantage of their being applied to religious objects. Since that period the ministers and leading members of the Presbyterian congregations have constantly and uniformly required that the benefit of the Reserves should be extended to them, in common with the Church of England, for the support of their Clergy. In Lower Canada, and by the General Assembly in Scotland, this claim has been repeated and every effort made to sustain it. What evidence then have we that the Presbyterians, as a body, desire the Reserves to be disposed of, as the bill before us contemplates, for education? none whatever; but, on the contrary, they have as plainly avowed as men can that they should be retained for the support of religion.

Next as regards the Methodists. Several of the ministers have openly declared their opinion that the Reserves should be taken from the church, and given for education; and much bitter controversy accompanied the expression of this opinion, which perhaps had the effect of extending the hostility to the Established Church to limits it never would have reached, if these feelings had not unhappily existed. But I rejoice to say that these feelings no longer exist—the Methodists of this country, united with, and under the superintendency of the Conference in England are now living in perfect and I trust lasting harmony with their Christian Brethren of all other denominations in the Province; and we may now calmly consider, and call upon themselves to declare, whether the desire imputed to them of destroying the provision made by the Constitution for the support of Religion be correct or not. I believe they have been misrepresented on this point; and as some evidence of the fact, I will refer the committee to the evidence given by a justly distinguished minister of the connexion, before the committee of the House of Commons in England in 1828. This Revd. gentleman was asked—

"Do you consider that, under the 31st of the late King, the Wesleyan Methodists have any claim, according to the letter of the Statute, to any share of the Clergy Reserves, or are they only desirous of obtaining a portion of them, in case the Statute should be altered in that point?"

Answer:

"There is a difference of opinion among us on this sub-

ject; but the general opinion of our ministers in Lower Canada, I believe is this, that if the Reserves be appropriated to the sole use of the Church of England, we shall offer no objection to it; but if the Presbyterians are to have any part of these Reserves, then, we conceive, that we have, at least, an equally good claim with them; and we should be very much dissatisfied if our claims were disallowed."

And in another part of his examination Mr. Alder says—

"I SHOULD WISH TO STATE, THAT WE CONSIDER OURSELVES AS A BRANCH OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AT HOME AND ABROAD."

Thus shewing himself a true disciple of the great founder of his sect, who in his dying hour charged his followers to cling fast to the parent church, and to do nothing that would tend to destroy it—but to regard it as the stay and support of the Protestant Faith throughout the world. The sentiments expressed by Mr. Alder it is well known are the opinions of the leading members and great body of the Wesleyans in England—they continue, as the pious Wesley enjoined upon them, to rally round the Church of England, and are among the most zealous to protect her from the assaults of her opponents, and to resist the attempts making to despoil her of her possessions. And now Sir! that the Wesleyan Methodists of Canada and of England are one body, is it too much to suppose that they will be actuated by one spirit, and a common feeling of respect for the rights of others, and the great interests of Christianity? I think not—and I repeat now what I have already said that I do not believe that the desire on the part of the Methodists of this Province, to take away the Reserves from purposes of religion, was ever so great or universal as it has been represented, and further I believe that it is day by day growing weaker and weaker. With respect to the Roman Catholics—themselves members of an Established Church, which their religion and duty require them to maintain and keep up, it is not probable that they would desire to see religion deprived of public support; and in truth in this unhappy controversy they have never taken any part; living in the undisturbed and undisputed possession of their own rights, they have not sought to interfere with those of others, and it is gross misrepresentation on the part of any one to say, that they have ever joined in the attack upon the rights of the Church of England in this Province.

Having thus shown what the opinion of the three principal bodies of Christians in the Province who differ from the Church of England may be supposed to be, it will I think, be admitted that when the sincere members of the Church itself are added, there is slight reason for asserting that the great majority of the people of this Province desire to see the bill on the table become a law. The Church of England has hitherto stood entirely on the defensive, during the attacks that have, I may be allowed to say, most ungenerously made upon her. On one occasion only did her adherents make an attempt to resist the assaults that were designed to overthrow her. I was deputed to lay the representations of 7,000 of the people of this Province at the foot of the Throne, imploring His Majesty to uphold the integrity and rights of the Church of his Kingdom:—if the same arts had been resorted to that had been used for far less just and righteous purposes, I do not doubt but the number of signers to these re-

presentations might have been swelled to ten times the number—but the members of the church have ever been accustomed to trust to the inherent and indisputable justice of her cause, for successful resistance to all attacks made upon her; and well convinced I am that she is every day gaining strength—the people at large are beginning to enquire into and examine with dispassionate minds the nature of the controversy in which we are engaged—and it is only necessary to do so to convince them, that neither reason, nor justice, nor religion, demand their support of measures such as that now proposed for our adoption.

In opposition to the oft repeated assertion that the framers of the constitutional act contemplated making provision for the Minister of the Church of Scotland, as well as those of the Church of England, I can state, that the late Chief Justice Powell requested his agent in London to find the draft of the Bill as it was when it left the House of Commons, and was sent to the House of Lords, where it underwent several amendments.—This draft has been found and examined, and it appears that the Bill left the House of Commons with the following words at the end of the 14th section, “And that such lands with which such parsonage or rectory shall be so endowed, shall be held as taken to be in lieu of all claims or demands of tithes for, or in respect of the lands so granted, or any part thereof,”—which were struck out by the Lords. From hence it is clear that the House of Commons intended to make an appropriation for the Church of England—as that Church only could set up any claim for tithes. This construction is further borne out by the words used by Mr. Pitt, who being the responsible Minister of the Crown, had introduced the bill, and who was therefore more likely to understand the meaning and intention of the framers, than any other person,—certainly much better than Mr. Fox, who was in the opposition. The words used by Mr. Pitt are as follows: “He declared that the meaning of the act was to enable the Governor to endow, &c. “present the Protestant Clergy of the Colonies, &c. “Church to such parsonage or rectory as might be constituted or erected within every Colony, &c. “Ship or Parship which was or might be built, &c. “to be given to such Protestant Clergyman of the Colony, &c. “The Governor thought proper, of the lands appropriated by the Act.”—Words could not more plainly show for what purpose the Reserves had been set apart, and sending as they did from the Prime Minister, who had introduced the act, they were conclusive upon the point: especially when taken in connection with the amendments of the Lords.

But, Sir, it is time that I should bring my observations to a close; and I shall do so as briefly as I can. If I am asked what my opinions now are with respect to the settlement of this question, I will answer that they are the same that they ever have been. I believe that

the Clergy Reserves were appropriated exclusively for the support of the Established Church of England in these Provinces, and I believe that the interests of religion will be best advanced by applying them to that object;—but, Sir, I am willing to admit that I do not consider it consistent with the interests of religion that its temporal possessions should be the cause of dissension and discord among any large proportion of the community: the Christian religion inculcates peace on earth, and good will among men; and to attain that object I am willing to make any sacrifice, and should not involve any of those principles which it is the duty of an honest man under all circumstances, and at any hazard, to maintain. I have already advanced the opinion, which I conscientiously believe to be well founded, that the people of this Province do not desire to see the Reserves taken from religious purposes; but I am willing to admit that a considerable number of them are averse to their being bestowed upon one denomination or Christians; if then the Bill under discussion be rejected, and a resolution be adopted, declaring that the Reserves shall be retained for the advancement of religion *exclusively*—without pledging myself to any particular measure, I shall lend my humble aid to such an adjustment as my conscience will permit me to agree to;—and this I will do among other reasons to show to my fellow subjects in this Province that if Government be kept up on this subject that it does not proceed from any unwelcome on my part, and on the part of those who a political principle is at stake, to make great sacrifices for the sake of public tranquillity. And I will now call upon my honourable friends, the conservative members of this House, to apply themselves with earnestness and zeal, as I am sure they will with integrity and ability, to settle this question. They can expect no assistance, but every possible opposition from those who live by religion; and therefore the entire responsibility rests with them. Let them assume it bravely, yet it may be that, after all, the Government will be obliged to such a measure as will satisfy all objections. Indeed this is not to be expected; but the intelligence of that class of men who returned them will sympathize with them in the difficulties, misapprehensions, and prejudices by which they are surrounded, and which they are labouring to overcome and overcome such so long as they are the majority, I believe, of the intention of the Government to be rejected, or loss of the Reserves, and I shall I believe, be able to show that the Reserves are throughout the instruments they may think it proper to adopt, and that those measures may be found to realize the best and brightest reward that man can desire. It will indeed be a glorious triumph for those who are ready to parties who would have lived in a state of estrangement from each other, upon a question of such vital importance as the support of Religion, and thus be instrumental in realizing that beautiful promise of our Lord, “that they who do confess God's holy name, may agree in the faith of His holy Word, and live in unity and Godly love.”

Dr. J. ROLPH.—Mr. Chairman.—Altho' not usual for any of us to prefer a formidable opponent, yet it is a pleasure on these occasions to meet something to grapple with, instead of beating, as it were, the air. But those who have this day heard the honorable and learned Solicitor-General, with a fund of information, putting forth on a great question, all the energy of his mind, and the usual powers of his address, will feel that the duty of replying to him, imposes upon me a task sufficiently arduous. Yet, Sir, you must have seen floating from all parts of the House to the learned gentleman while addressing you, notes and suggestions, folded up like so many cartridges, to furnish him with ammunition against me. It is some comfort, however, to know that in the language of a philosophic poet, that "thrice is he armed who hath a righteous cause;" and increased reflection under protracted debate only strengthens the conviction that I am right and that he is wrong.

Let me follow the learned gentleman step by step.

He misunderstands my observations on paganism. I said it owed its *corruption* and *degradation*, not its *destruction*, to the State. Had its protracted connection with the Governments of the world, been favorable to truth, polytheism ought gradually to have become extinct, and natural religion established its place.—But on the contrary idolatry obtained such a predominant supremacy under national patronage, that it needed a power from on high to effect its subversion. Christianity, it is truly said, was that power—she shed her lustre in the temples of paganism, melted down every idol God, and chased away the darkness of delirious superstition, revealing in its place, the light of morality. The learned gentleman has answered my argument, as he well could do; but a vast must have been the corruption in the State, when its correction required this intervention of Heaven! an intervention, for it be remembered, accomplished not thro' the agency of Governments and State endowments, but thro' a christian ministry supported by voluntary contributions, and opposed to the great worldly powers, which you now represent as necessary for its further success.

Now, Sir, that the work of Moshlem does not prove my position, that the Church was deteriorated under Constantine; and the learned gentleman in triumph professes to quote the same authority in testimony of previous corruptions before that Emperor's alleged conversion.

In the first place the passage quoted against Constantine is, in a context existing, not in the text of the learned gentleman's edition, but in the margin of the second edition of the "second," but it regards the close of the *third century*. The latest edition of this author is more than a thousand years old, and this difference of nearly a thousand years, will make a great difference

in the application of the passage to the argument. "These changes were followed by a train of vices," says the learned author.—What changes? For as the "*vices*," according to the quotation, followed "the changes," it becomes of primary importance to ascertain what they were. Were "the changes" from *State endowments* to voluntary contributions? No. But in the words of Moshlem, in the very part quoted by the learned Solicitor-General, "the face of things began now (*third century*) to change in the Christian Church. The ancient method of ecclesiastical Government seemed, in general, still to subsist, while, at the same time, by imperceptible steps, it varied from the primitive rule, and degenerated towards the form of a religious monarchy." And following this statement we have the passage selected for my refutation, "this change in the form of ecclesiastical government, was soon followed by a train of vices," &c. &c.

What was the *primitive rule*, the deviation from which was followed by degeneracy?—The churches were severally independent, while those of a province were formed into one large ecclesiastical body, which like confederate States, assembled at certain times in order to deliberate about the common interests of the whole.—These thriving churches derived their revenues from voluntary contributions; and an equality in point of dignity and authority, was insisted upon among all the members of the Episcopal order. The lay members of each church, too, had a voice in the management of its affairs.

From this primitive state, the government of the church, "degenerated towards a religious monarchy."—"The Bishops" says Moshlem, "in many places assumed a princely authority," even "a throne; and violated the rights of both presbyters and people," and "the example of the Bishops was ambitiously imitated by the Presbyters," and "the Deacons boldly usurped their rights and privileges"; and he adds, "the effects of a corrupt ambition, were spread through every rank of the sacred order."

This corruption of the church, therefore, in the course of the third century, arose from a deviation, "by unperceptible degrees," from primitive simplicity, and from the growing influence of ambition after power and wealth.—Will the learned gentleman opposed to me, agree to go back to the primitive state, and depend on voluntary contributions from the lay members of every church, allow them a voice in its economy, and withdraw from their spiritual guides all objects of emulation but spiritual ones? On the contrary, they are for creating vivid distinctions! For endowing one or more churches above the rest, and presenting Cherry reserves and the favor of the government as objects for their ambitious contemplation.—Human nature is the same as it was 1500 years ago: and therefore the christian declension from these causes in the year

300, is experienced in 1836 in the very community in which we live.

As the corruptions alluded to in the passage quoted by the learned Sol'r General, sprang from Christian Ministers *aspiring* to the power, grandeur, and riches of the world, it could not be expected that those corruptions would be corrected or even diminished, by an actual alliance with the world under Constantine.—I never said the church was pure before the age of that Emperor; I only said it became *less so*. Admit, therefore, that the learned Solicitor General has proved from Moshlem, as a common authority for us, that christianity was in a corrupt state in the third century; and it is surely no proof that it was not in a worse state in the subsequent century. Did "the wealth, honors, and advantages of the clergy" conferred by the Emperors, diminish the vices or improve the moral and spiritual condition of the churches? Did the connection with the State, act as an antidote? or as a restorative? or even as a palliative? According to my learned opponents, the State is an universal panacea for ecclesiastical declension. But what says Moshlem, "the additions made by the Emperors and others to the wealth, honors and advantages of the Clergy, were followed with a proportionable augmentation of vices and luxury"—and again, "the number of immoral and unworthy christians began so to increase that the examples of real piety & virtue became extremely rare"; and again, "the church was contaminated with shoals of profligate christians"—and again, "the age was sinking daily from one period of corruption to another."—When the church, therefore, passed from its primitive to its imperial state, it passed, to use a forcible vulgarism,—"from the frying-pan into the fire."

The learned Sol'r General has really made out for me a stronger case than I did for myself: for he has shown from an admitted authority, that the churches aspiring after the world in the third century, became corrupted; and from their alliance with the world in the fourth century, became far more corrupted.—But will learned gentlemen assume to cure the disease, now, by the worldly remedy which history testifies, produced and aggravated it? Or will they honestly follow Dr. Moshlem as an authority, and revert to that "primitive state, a degeneration from which towards a religious monarchy," has caused "a train of vices which dishonor the character and authority of those to whom the administration of the church was committed"? After admitting, as he has done, this testimony of history, he will, I trust, assist me in resisting the introduction of those worldly influences, honors & endowments, which will corrupt our religion, and zealously second my endeavors to persuade the committee to leave our ecclesiastical condition to assume the acknowledged excellence and purity of the primitive ages.

To hear the honorable and learned gentleman

quote from Moshlem and comment on him, you would really imagine that more honor and glory were due to Constantine, than to Christ. And I am sorry to observe that while he (Sol. Gen'l.) rejoices at the serene and happy days which exempted christians from persecutions, and extended their territory, he forgets that the churches lost in purity, what they gained in ease, and lost in real converts, while they gained in nominal professors.—When christianity stood upon its own foundation, the sincerity of the churches was beyond suspicion; but when it stood upon the State, multitudes assumed the name of christians, because, says a learned Divine, "it was the religion of the Emperor."

Let us appeal again to Doctor Moshlem—"There is no doubt, but that the victories of Constantine the Great, the fear of punishment, and the desire of pleasing their mighty conqueror, and his imperial successors, were the *weighty arguments* that moved whole nations as well as particular persons to embrace christianity."—I appeal to the good sense and correct feelings of my learned opponents, whether the honor of our religion is not compromised by compelling whole nations to profess it by such weighty arguments! Can Paganism be said to be extirpated from any country by christianity, when the former reigns in the heart, and the latter lives only on the tongue? Under Constantine, therefore, "they made more haste than good speed."

And so says Dr. Moshlem, "There remained still in European provinces an incredible number of persons who adhered to the worship of the gods; and though the christian bishops continued their pious efforts to gain them over to the gospel, yet the success was by no means proportionable to their diligence and zeal, and the work of conversion went on but slowly." There were shoals of persons professing, but few converts to the faith. A whole people at the point of Constantine's sword confessed the name of Christ, with, however, a mental reservation in favor of their household gods! oh, tempora! oh, mores! How clearly it shows that the kingdom of Christ is separated from the kingdoms of the world. To the infidel it is an enigma. You vastly extend, as matter of boast, the territorial limits of the churches, and yet vastly diminish the empire of the messiah. You become rich in lands, but poor in spirit—countless in numbers, and scanty in souls. You pull down the idols from the temples, but not from the hearts of the people. "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." But if angels can indulge in tears, they would weep over such conquests of church and state, as learned gentlemen call **GREAT** and **GLORIOUS**.

With similar sincerity I have no doubt, some gentlemen expect, not indeed by the physical force of Constantine, but by the moral force of the Clergy Reserves, to augment the wealth, increase the honors, add to the distinctions and multiply the members of the one or more churches, arbitrarily selected and highly favored by

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the government. A few such victories will accomplish our defeat. Unhappy as this country now is, it will become even more deplorable. Christian emigrants will fly from your hypocritical community, as already too truly depicted, "from a land of pestilence and famine."—They will continue by thousands and tens of thousands to seek an asylum in the great neighboring republic, where christianity happily prevails by its pure and native supremacy, while we, the dupes of worldly policy, are thickly peopling the Clergy Reserves by depopulating the kingdom of Christ.

The union of church and state is next vindicated by the hon. and learned Solicitor General on the ground, as I understand him, of its having blest us with the reformation. How, in that case does he expect the support of his Roman Catholic friends in this Assembly?—Will they by their votes sanction a system which has and will produce, in their estimation, heretical protestations? and protesting against the Catholics, shall we as-sume to make manifest by endowments (what belongs to every individual heart) in what churches man is accepted by his maker, or may have faith in his pardon and salvation? It is a vast and fearful matter to decide respecting ourselves without presuming to meddle with the eternal interests of the people who sent us here. But to return from this digression to the reformation.

In the first place, sir, according to my apprehension of the subject, the reformation was neither begun nor conducted by Kings or Governments. This is matter of fact to be collected from history; and the only authority in my reach at this moment (not having brought with me the last volume of Moshism) is Hume from whom I will read a few sentences.

After describing certain abuses in the Roman Church, he says "All these circumstances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no events of any importance had there not arisen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident." This man, sir, was Martin Luther; and according to your favorite historian, we are indebted not to the STATE tho' connected with the church, but to an humble, and intrepid individual christian.

Again Hume says, "all Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator." According to your own historian it was one daring innovator sounding the reformation among both governments and people, instead of governments connected with the church, suggesting this reformation to the church, to the people or the world.

Again, says Hume "the quick and surprising progress of this bold sect, may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing and revival of learning." But not a hint from your favorite historian that the progress of the reformation was the work of governments. He tells us, indeed, that the Elector of Saxony, favorable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction; and that

the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model. But here we see the great work conducted by an individual, and the new model adopted, not framed by a republic.

And again he says, "the rumour of those innovations soon reached England," when, he adds, "the new doctrines secretly gained many partizans among the laity of all ranks and denominations." Here we see the news of a reformation reached England, but was not there commenced either by Church or State. The doctrines too gained "secretly," instead of publicly and officially, and among the laity, not in the Church or State.

And again says Hume, "he [Henry the 8th] wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther." Here is the State hard at work against "the blessed Reformation!" Here Luther had obviously to contend against a double power, the Church to be reformed and the King opposing it! and for this literary exploit of the monarch against "the blessed Reformation," he received from Pope Leo the title of "Defender of the Faith," an appellation still retained by the Kings of England.

Behold Luther in the field against the Pope of Rome, and the King of England! To which does Hume award the wreath of victory? Hear him: "The controversy became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists, & drew still more the attention of mankind, and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe." Luther and Truth contended against King, Pope and Error.—Truth, however, mightily prevailed. But what Christian or Patriot ought ever again to desire to see Truth fighting against such fearful odds? What loyal subject would ever again wish to see his King politically placed in such a relation to Christianity, that he may "happily be found even fighting against God?" or wish to put the religion of Christ in such royal jeopardy.

Has the learned gentleman forgotten that the connection between Church and State, which he is advocating with such zeal, was a chief engine in the establishment of the very Roman errors which demanded the reformation he has so justly eulogized? The Roman pontiffs between the submission and the support of States, for ages enjoyed national guarantees for their temporal and ecclesiastical authority. For many centuries the popes could not be consecrated till their election had been approved by the Emperors: But so grateful were church and state to each other, that at length Charles the Bold, having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the Popes, discharged them from the obligation of waiting for this Imperial consent. Gregory the 7th was himself confirmed in the papacy by that very Emperor whom he afterwards deposed. Under the emperor Phocas, the Roman pontiff was proclaimed in 606 *universal Bishop*, and in subsequent centuries the Popes assumed the character of Lords of the Universe, and arbiters

of kingdoms and empires. The argument, therefore, deducible from the Reformation is in my favor, because it is a warning to avoid not merely the errors of the Roman church, but that anti-christian connection between Religion and the State, under which these errors attained such fearful magnitude and ascendancy.

The learned gentleman has expatiated with his usual power and effect upon the valuable contributions we receive from the learned ease afforded by endowments. The worth of the learned men he has named, I cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge; altho' Bishop Berkley is not by any means the happiest illustration, as his ideal philosophy (of little use to any man) has a tendency to induce in ordinary minds, universal scepticism. But I wish to meet the argument on its broad merits.

It is one of those false deductions into which we are liable to be betrayed upon almost every subject. It is the *apost hoc, propter hoc*.—"These learned works were written in the church when connected with the State, therefore to that connection with the State, we are indebted for those works. None better knows than my learned opponent, the insufficiency of such logic; but the necessities of the case he has expounded, oblige him to have recourse to it: and with the same logic I might prove that all the epidemics which prevailed during the connection of Church and State, pestiferously arose from that relation.

Now, Sir, if the adulterous connection of church and state had physically and ipso facto given birth to these great men [just as Minerva sprang out of Jupiter's brains] I would make the full concession required from me. But as they had a very different parentage, as they were born like other folks into the world, it appears to me, the world has the best claim to them. How triumphantly it is shown, and dilated upon, that *some* good has grown out of the evil! And what is the logical conclusion from it? Therefore adopt the evil!

Who, sir, wrote Matthew, Mark, Luke and John? Who wrote the divine Epistles? They were not the offspring of church and state. Almost all the authors mentioned are only commentators in some way or other upon those primitive works; and availing myself of the logic used against me, I would say, such were the authors in the primitive ages; let us revert to those primitive ages that we may thereby again have authors equally divine—Christianity united to the state, produced Bishop Berkley! Christianity alone, produced St. Paul! Give me, then, Christianity alone for my spiritual, and the state alone for my civil affairs.

When the learned gentleman in the midst of his impassioned allusion, asked me what would be done if all these learned books were burnt, I almost thought myself amongst the giddy flames. I once heard Lord Ellenborough, perplexed by the conflicting authorities produced by opposing counsel, pettishly exclaim, "I wish all the books were burnt!"—In that case, sir,

what would his Lordship have done? He would have acted and reasoned from those first and immutable principles of Justice, which the learned books should faithfully illustrate, never contradict. And were divines to make a conflagration of their learned books, I would go back, yes, I would go back, without fear or dismay, to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and St. Paul. The evidence of Nature [unless you burned that also] and the internal evidence of the Bible itself, would leave the religious world in no terrific darkness. It is a strange misapprehension that Christianity is founded upon acts of Parliament, buoyed up by books of modern divines, and kept from absolute starvation by Clergy Reserves.

But this is a much worse case than I am called upon to meet and answer. The Locks of divinity hypothetically burnt, are only those of the established church produced by its connection with the State. Very well, Sir; that would leave us the Bible and all the works of the first three centuries of the Christian era.—In this work of Moshem, you see in the account of every century, the authors it produced, and enough, indeed, they are to satisfy the hunger of any Student, even ravenous after scholastic divinity. We are also entitled to exempt from the flames all the works produced by churches, domestic or foreign, not connected with the State, which would further preserve to us a goodly number; and to these we may add the chosen and pious Works of Dissenting Ministers in Great Britain. Adam Clark was perhaps the most extensive linguist of his day; and his commentaries on the Bible, are esteemed a standard work. Doddridge, and Watts, with a train of kindred divines, equally eminent for learning and piety, would still shine with a light, that would repair the loss, the Solicitor General explores, while it would, at the same time, enable us properly to appreciate and regret it.

In making an estimate of the contributions to learning by the established church, it should be remembered that the Universities are the monopoly. Well, therefore, may the fruits of these Universities be ascribed to the union of Church and State. The honors and ecclesiastical dignities of those illustrious schools are confined to their privileged orders; the Dissenters are excluded from any participation, and in Oxford they cannot even become hampers. Students after truth without a preliminary subscription to the 39 articles. Now under these circumstances it is not a little cruel to draw an invidious comparison between the learning of the establishment and that of those shut out from it. They would be more learned, but you would not let them. You exclude them from the transcendent advantages conferred upon their rivals, and then upbraid them with the consequence of an alleged inferiority. If they present themselves for honors and learning at your Academic Halls, they are condemned as schismatics! If they conscientiously stay away, they are condemned as illiterate! Church & State, therefore, ought not to be united; for if this be

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its fruit, it is the fruit of partiality and injustice.

The hon. and learned Solicitor General in a happy strain of pathos, appeals to me to vindicate the rights of the great schools to which I owe an unextinguishable debt of gratitude.—The appeal, Sir, is not without its proper effect. I never mention them without respect, or think of them without affection. But fully concurring with the exalted sentiments expressed by the learned gentleman towards those venerable Institutions, I am constrained, I am morally coerced by such convictions, to extend those inestimable advantages to all my fellow countrymen without distinction, & to the world at large without reserve. One portal has been open communicating with one church, and great have been the benefits. Open other portals towards every aspect, East, West, North and South.—Make them accessible under every point of the compass, so that the Pilgrims after knowledge, human and divine, may every where have the readiest entrance, find the most abundant repast, and drink deep of the ethereal spring. Call them into the Feast from the very high-ways; and fill them with that moral and intellectual elevation, which will make them as Giants for the contest, as lights for the world.—Surely in his ardent zeal for his noble church, he has forgotten his duty to mankind. Be not niggardly with your irrigations from a river of truth and knowledge flowing inexhaustibly;—

“*Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*”—

Say not, “the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans;” but open your ample treasures of heaven and earth to your christian kindred, and the gentiles too. Open the doors and very windows of your temples of knowledge for the utmost accessibility. There let them freely come and freely learn,

“To look thro’ nature up to nature’s god;”—

And there let them as freely quench their spiritual thirst, and drink of the “wells of water springing up into everlasting life.”—

The abstraction of church preferment is associated with the simultaneous extinction of religion. Is that sentiment sanctioned by the language of the New Testament, as a primary authority? Instead of holding up to our aspiring youth the earthly honors, titles and endowments of the State, in a form which has too often rendered them as accessible to the infidel professor of christianity, as to the sincerest believer; instead of polluting the motives and despiritualizing the zeal of christian aspirants, by the seducing prospect of rich preferments, sinecures and pluralities; instead of hypocritically telling them to deny themselves, to mortify the flesh and take up their cross, while at the same time are guaranteed to them the wealth and patronage of the State; let them be honestly brought to the standard of the Bible, and be exclusively directed to the mark of their high calling, to a crown of glory that fades not away, eternal in the heavens. Does the soldier dodge cowardly at every shot, seek shelter from every ball, and divest the field of

slaughter and death, before entering upon his glorious campaign? And shall the church militant be less brave or uncompromising?—Must he first avert every hazard, war only from his intrenchments, and fight the battles with satan in preconcerted safety? The efficiency which in the camp incurs death under martial law, may in christian warfare incur a more awful sentence on the judgment day.

Some honorable member has favored us with a very pitiful complaint from a Methodist minister, as detailed in some public paper; he was so ill-supported by voluntary contribution that he was obliged to sell his horse and take to his feet, and, poor man, make some other of the sacrifices which escape my recollection at the moment. What would this whimpering complainant have said, had he been called upon to suffer martyrdom? What would he have done? Why, Sir, he would have taken to his heels as fast as he could have scampered! Was not his Lord and Master a pedestrian through his ministry? Did he not hunger? Had he whereon to lay his head?—To hear such a complaint read in this Christian Assembly as from one who pretended to be a disciple of the Master and to bear his cross, would make an undeluged in exultation. The Rev. gentleman, whoever he was, undoubtedly mistook the objects suitable for his ambition. He mistook his profession, and it must have been a truly christian neighborhood which starved him away.—Another honorable member, as evidence against the principle of voluntary contribution, has related the case of some Rev. gentleman, bearing the cross of Christ, who had his ministerial services impaired from the fear of being also put upon short commons, should he preach against gambling and intemperance, the prevailing sins of his neighborhood! Another instance of a man’s mistaking his profession! What is the fate of the soldier who from any similar fear surrenders a citadel of his king to the enemy? Death!—And death, says the Bible, awaits the traitor to the King of Kings, and the cowardly betrayer of his people. I desire no means of bribing such men into honest ones. Money will not give genuine valor or patriotism to cowards, nor will it give piety or spirituality to a modern judas. Such spurious zeal and fidelity cannot be enlisted under the sacred banners. Let every church starve away these more than doubtful recruits, these wolves in sheep’s clothing.

But I must return to the hon. and learned Solicitor General, who, with the hon. & learned member for Toronto (Mr. Draper) is the great champion in the cause. He has illustrated the importance of an exclusive church establishment by referring me (did I not know better) to the deplorable, the degraded, the infidel condition of the great neighboring Republic! They present, indeed, a grand spectacle to the earth. It may transcend sublunary bounds, to reach the height of sanguine prophesy about them; yet to sink to this melancholy degree below it, would be in them treason against mankind, and

blast the glorious expectation that they would for ages yet to come be social rivals with England in exhibiting, and in exalting and in perpetuating the civil and religious interests of the world.

In the United States the amplest latitude is given to the free discussion of truth and error. The learned gentleman gravely complains that they will not confine this right of discussion, (if, indeed, discussion it could then be called,) to what *he* thinks truth! No one can entertain a more proper respect than myself, for the learning and talents of the hon. member; but I am not prepared to admit his infallibility, or admit him to be universal censor of the press, or supreme judge of all moral and metaphysical philosophy. Christianity is not one of our innate ideas; and therefore most, if not all men, in the course of their lives, have the inquiry passing through their minds, is this religion true? And it is only when their views are sealed that inquiry closes, or is shunned as unprofitable and painful. There is nothing dogmatical in this new Testament. Men are there told "to search the Scriptures," "to learn," "to teach" and to study the divine attributes by the works of nature; but the learned Sol. General would make us christians in short order, by an act of Parliament giving tongue to his truth and silence to his error; and for violating that act, would subject us to a proemure! Should I misapprehend the scope of his god-like dictation, I should like to ascertain, what is truth and what is error, and how much and how little he will allow mankind to say pro and con. He would no sooner make the attempt than he would violate his own law and incur his own proemure! This very interdiction of discussion, this effeminate sensitiveness about free inquiry, has and still is doing more against christianity than all other human causes put together. What is one of the great impediments to the introduction of our religion, for instance, into China? It is the spirit of the hon. and learned Solicitor General which haunts us here and every where in the heathen world. The Chinese say, "What! awful wickedness! shall our public halls in our principal cities be occupied week after week with bands of profane and misguided beings who openly inculcate the doctrine that our ancient religion is a cheat, and our immortal gods a folly!" Hence after the learned gentleman had put us into the stocks here for arguing against his truth, he would, for teaching his truth in China himself freely receive the tattoo, and be bastinadoed out of the country.

The extension of the principle of free inquiry (equally of English as of American growth) will perhaps precede the period for the fulfilment of the remarkable prophecy "nations shall be born to the Lord in a day."

But if the learned gentleman leaving that ground means to allege that the United States either by law or usage, admit or encourage such discussions in an indecent, obscene or immoral manner, I can only say, I could not gather it from his remarks, much less can I admit it to be true. The Americans have been annoyed

amidst all their forbearance, with infidel lectures by one Robert Owen and Fanny Wright.

Whence did they come? Are they Americans by birth? Are they Americans by education? Are the United States indebted to their own institutions, political and literary, for "these profane and misguided beings" who fill their Halls with these infidel doctrines!—I see the blush mantling over the learned gentleman's face. But truth and justice will not allow us to draw a veil over their national origin—Great Britain was the place of their birth; the place of their growth; the school of their instruction in religion and morality. Full of these errors, full of the poison of these principles, and bold in the dissemination of them, they migrated on a pestilential wing to the fairest portion of the new world, and there exhibited, as the product of European connection of Church and State, the unhappy spectacle which the learned gentleman has described in such indignant terms. While we are for extracting a splinter out of our neighbour's eye, behold there is a beam in our own. Church and State in prolific union have produced our Paines, and our Carisles, and our Owens, and our Wrights, not only for Home consumption, but for exportation! And while the learned gentleman is denouncing in such impassioned tones the imported infidelity of America, he is insensible to the melancholy fact in England that a person of the name of Taylor, an ordained minister of the established church, has openly abandoned his religion, and is now a regular and systematic preacher of Atheism! Surely it becomes us, under such mortifying and humiliating circumstances, to be more circumspect about our allusions to a country, whose institutions seem not more fruitful than our own, of these deduced advocates of error.

We should not judge of the christian character of the United States, by those grosser examples, which constitute the exceptions to the general rule. You rescue England from the charge of infidelity, notwithstanding her professed infidels, by referring to the general piety of the nation. Doing this justice to ourselves, shall we judge another country only by its defects? Has the learned Solicitor General forgotten the high christian excellence of many distinguished citizens of America, and the decidedly religious aspect which the whole nation wears! Count, if you can, their numerous societies for the printing and distribution of the Bible; for the preaching of the Gospel among people of every kindred, climate and tongue under heaven; and estimate the large and generous sums collected on the voluntary system and consecrated to the cause of God and the amelioration or conversion of mankind; behold in every village, and multiplied in every town, their noble churches "like priceless gems studding the field of observation, and dedicated to the service of the Creator, fit abodes of hopes of immortality;" add, if you please their philanthropic labours in the cause of temperance,

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conducted with a christian zeal, which has kindled a corresponding spirit in the British isles; and then ask, are they not on the whole a great and a good people; a truly Christian nation, which, tho' only half a century old, treads on the footsteps of European missionaries in every clime, and puts the elder continent in these chivalrous deeds, almost to the blush.

But in the United States there is no provision by the government for any particular church or churches. All are left to the support of those, who, imbued with a christian spirit, make their voluntary contributions. To judge therefore, by their splendid example, and national character, there is a Power which both can and will bless the progress of christianity when separate from the world.—Christians only need equal civil rights.

The abstraction of these Reserves from religious uses, is viewed as sacrilege. I hold in my hand a newspaper containing the information that in the Island of Prince Edward, a bill has received the Royal Assent for selling the Glebe lands of the Established Church for education! Will it be said that the House of Assembly in that Province has been guilty of sacrilege? Or has its Legislative Council?—Or will such a crime be alleged against His Majesty, William the Fourth, Defender of the Faith, whose royal assent, practically embodied a principle, which with us is called, under similar circumstances, a desecration?—The learned Solicitor General has quoted the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Alder in 1826, as the opinion of the Methodist church—But I will read him the opinion of the Methodist conference in this Colony in 1831, in the following extract from their Memorial to the King:

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
Friday, December 16, 1836.**

The committee rose and the chairman reported having adopted a Resolution, proposed by Mr. Hagerman, as follows:

"Resolved, That it is desirable that the lands commonly called the Clergy Reserves, and the proceeds arising from the sales thereof, be appropriated for the promotion of the religious and moral instruction of the people throughout the Province."

Dr. Rolph, seconded by Mr. Norton, moved in amendment,—

"That it is expedient to provide for the Sale of the Clergy Reserves, and the application of the proceeds to the purposes of General Education, as one of the most legitimate ways of giving free scope to the progress of religious truth in the community."

YEAS—MESSRS.

Alway,	Dettlor,	Moore,	Rykert,
Armstrong,	Duncombe,	D. Morrison,	Shaver,
Bockus,	Gibson,	Norton,	Thomson,
Camaron,	McDonnell,	A. Parke,	Thorburn,
Chisholm,	Mcintosh,	Rolph,	Woodruff—22.
Cook,	Merritt,		

NAYS—MESSRS.

Aikman,	Ferrie,	Manahan,	Prince,
Boulton,	Gowan,	Marks,	Richardson,
Burwell,	Hotham,	McCrae,	Robinson,
Cartwright,	Jarvis,	McDonnell,	A. Rutan,
Chisholm,	W. Jones,	McDonnell,	D. Shade,
Cornwall,	Kearns,	McKay,	Sherwood,
Draper,	Dunlop,	McNab,	Sol General,
Elliott,	Lewis,	Murray,	Wickens—34.
	Malloch,	Powell,	

Dr. Rolph's amendment was LOST by a majority of 12.

Mr. Sol. Gen. Hagerman's resolution was then carried as follows:

YEAS—MESSRS.

Aikman,	Elliott,	Malloch,	Prince,
Armstrong,	Ferrie,	Manahan,	Richardson,
Boulton,	Gowan,	Marks,	Robinson,
Burwell,	Hotham,	McCrae,	Rutan,
Cartwright,	Jarvis,	McDonnell,	D. Shade,
Chisholm,	W. Jones,	McDonnell,	A. Sherwood,
Cornwall,	Kearns,	McKay,	Sol General,
Draper,	Dunlop,	McNab,	Wickens—35.
	Lewis,	Murray,	
	Malloch,	Powell,	

NAYS—MESSRS.

Alway,	Duncombe,	D. Moore,	Rykert,
Bockus,	Gibson,	Morrison,	Shaver,
Camaron,	McDonnell,	A.E. Norton,	Thomson,
Chisholm,	Mcintosh,	Parke,	Thorburn,
Cook,	Merritt,	Rolph,	Woodruff—21.
Debtor,			

NOTE.

The Clergy Reserves are composed of one-seventh of the granted lands in Upper Canada, being the quantity set apart by the British Act, 31st Geo. 3d, ch. 31, for the support of "*a Protestant Clergy.*" This Ecclesiastical provision has, under the phrase "*a Protestant Clergy,*" been heretofore limited by the government to the united Church of England and Ireland.—The propriety of such an appropriation by the government exclusively to that church, or the extension of it to others, has for many years been a question of great public interest.—Pending this discussion, and the strong and repeated remonstrances of the people and the Assembly against giving one or more churches a State endowment, or any peculiar privileges, the government have erected and endowed fifty-seven Rectories with certain exclusive ecclesiastical and spiritual rights; and moreover by a late Act of the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, one-fourth of these Reserves in Upper Canada were sold, without the knowledge or consent of its legislature, and the proceeds paid, to the amount of £70,000, into the Military chest.—The distribution of the residue of the Clergy Reserves, is the matter to which this debate refers.—For some years past government gratuities have also been given, from some other public funds, to the Wesleyan Methodist church and to the Scotch Kirk—the other christian churches either refusing such gratuities, or not being offered any.

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